Mozart 225: An Introduction

The opportunity for a New Complete Mozart Edition is naturally prompted by the 225th anniversary of his death on 5 December 2016. This is, of course, also the twenty-fifth anniversary of the groundbreaking Philips Mozart Edition. While recognising the enormous achievement of that pioneering enterprise, the time is surely right to take a completely fresh look at one of the world's most sublime artistic achievements, the musical equivalent of the complete works of Shakespeare or Molière.

In presenting a new recorded edition of Mozart's work, the overriding question is, of course: why — what's new? In attempting to provide answers, we will address in turn completeness, scholarship, layout, performance styles, range of recorded interpretations and, finally, ease of navigation.

First, how complete is Complete? The answer is: to a level never before attempted. For the first time all Mozart's work (as opposed to "works") that is realistically performable is included: all his significant fragments and sketches, works finished by others, plus arrangements (of both his own and others' work). New recordings have been made of several performable fragments, some on Mozart's own instruments at the Salzburg Mozarteum Foundation, including the first recordings of his recently donated "Costa" violin.

What of research and scholarship? While it is fanciful to expect lost works by Mozart to turn up on a regular basis, it was particularly exciting to be able to include the premiere recordings of the Sonata K331 "alla turca" from the substantial manuscript discovered in 2012 and the long-lost song/cantata K477a (jointly written with Salieri) that came to light in early 2016. Recent research refining the chronology and criteria for authenticity has also been incorporated. The word "Doubtful" has many gradations, and such pieces are not excluded entirely, but rather acknowledged and denoted accordingly.

Next, how were we to find a general layout both true to Mozart's life as a working musician and convenient for the listener? Four main genre "cubes" are each organised around their intended function: chamber (including solo) music for intimate gatherings in smallish rooms or outdoor events; orchestral music for larger rooms, halls, theatres and ballrooms; theatrical music — opera, *Singspiel*, ballet and incidental music; and music for ritual or mainly private use — oratorio, church and Masonic music, songs and canons. Within those main genres, works are organised chronologically into sub-genres both predictable, e.g. symphonies, and less predictable, e.g. chamber music arranged by the number of performers, or concertos for any instrument. It is hoped this provides a more varied listening experience, throwing up unusual or illuminating juxtapositions of works or timbres set in close proximity to one

another. We also see how Mozart at certain points favoured one kind of work over another and his distribution over time of the genres in which he worked (e.g. string quartets), in part due to the necessities arising from being a working musician.

By the time of Mozart's bicentenary in 1991 historically informed recordings by Brüggen, Gardiner, Harnoncourt, Hogwood, Pinnock et al. were already legion, yet virtually none were used in the Philips Mozart Edition. By contrast Mozart 225 avoids dogmatic adherence to performances given solely on either period or traditional instruments and includes no less than thirty CDs of "alternative performances of key works". Thus the listener can appreciate both the zest and texture of a Levin concerto or Brüggen symphonic performance and the smoother sonorities of a Brendel, Pires or Végh. We believe the listener will find that each approach illuminates and refreshes the other. In their latter years no lesser musicians than Claudio Abbado and Charles Mackerras returned to Mozart, straddling both worlds, combining style and textural awareness with interpretative wisdom and technical excellence. New standards were set, and a whole new generation of Mozartians found inspiration.

An anniversary is usually a cause for celebration. In raising a glass to Mozart, we can afford also to celebrate the cornucopia of great recorded performances of the last half century, perhaps a golden period never to be surpassed. In preparing the performer index for the back of this book it was astonishing to count contributions from over six hundred solo performers and ensembles, and it should also be noted that, by using the recordings of Deutsche Grammophon, Decca, ASV and twelve other labels, more than two thirds of the selected recordings are different to the 1991 edition. One result is that rather than following one performer, however good, as they traverse huge swathes of repertoire, it seemed more appropriate and in keeping with the zeitgeist to present the maximum variety of performers in relatively close juxtaposition. Period- and modern-instrument performances are nearly always kept separate, not least for reasons of pitch; that apart, it is hoped that any momentary jolts in sound or style will be amply compensated by the opportunity of hearing strikingly different but equally valid approaches to this most universal of music. The choice of opera recordings of course presents the largest headache. Great Mozart singers and conductors do not always find themselves on the same recording! Above all one must get a sense of ensemble members working together to create more than the sum of their parts. With variety again the watchword, a different conductor has been chosen for each of the mature operas. The chance to present Solti, Abbado, Mackerras, Nézet-Séguin, Gardiner, Östman and even Erich Kleiber together with their remarkable and very different casts, was altogether too good to resist. Additional performances of selected arias and scenes can then remind us of the glories of individual singers, both past and present.

Particular thanks are due to two outstanding Mozart scholars: Professor Cliff Eisen of King's College London, who not only contributed the new biography of Mozart that follows, but also oversaw the entire editorial content of the set. Cliff also provided invaluable advice to me on countless matters; as did Dr Ulrich Leisinger, Academic Director at the Salzburg Mozarteum Foundation. The Foundation are valued partners in this venture, and apart from Dr Leisinger's expertise, they put their vast collection of documents and portraiture at our disposal for reproduction in this set, while making available their locations and instruments for recording and events. The contributions of Cliff and Ulrich are for me beyond reproach; it follows that wherever we have fallen short it is entirely my responsibility.

Any set of this size needs to address navigational challenges. Thanks again to the Foundation we were given first access to the numbering proposed for the forthcoming new Köchel catalogue, presented here as a standalone K book to help the interested listener find his or her way around. A series of signposts embedded within the track listings provides cross references and aids navigation. Two online resources are offered for further enrichment of the material presented: a new Mozart225 App, which includes the complete opera libretti with translations, and the Salzburg Mozarteum Foundation's Digital Mozart Edition, which offers free private access to the musical scores.

To slightly misquote Schnabel, so much of Mozart's music is better than it can be performed. But perform and interpret it each generation must. This Mozart225 Edition is therefore a snapshot in time in an ever-evolving relationship. If in any small measure it promotes further dissemination, discovery, study, debate and above all sheer pleasure and wonder then the celebration promoted by a mere anniversary will be more than worthwhile.

Paul Moseley, London, April 2016

W.A. MOZART

The New Complete Edition

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Sources

This biography is based primarily on the Mozart family letters and contemporaneous documents.

The letters, in the original German, are published in Wilhelm A. Bauer, Otto Erich Deutsch, Joseph Heinz Eibl and Ulrich Konrad, Mozart. Briefe und Aufzeichnungen (Kassel, 1962-2005); most of the translations are from Cliff Eisen, Mozart. A Life in Letters, trans. Stewart Spencer (London, 2006).

Documents relating to Mozart are published in Otto Erich Deutsch, Mozart. Die Dokumente seines Lebens (Kassel, 1961; in English as Mozart. A Documentary Biography (London, 1965)); additional material is published in Cliff Eisen, New Mozart Documents (London, 1991).

Contents

Part I: Mozart on the Road 1762–1773

Mozart — his baptismal name was Joannes Chrysostomus Wolfgangus Theophilus — was born at Salzburg, then an independent archdiocese ruled by a prince-archbishop, on 27 January 1756. He was the seventh and last child of Leopold Mozart (1719–1787) and his wife Maria Anna née Pertl (1720–1778) and only the second, after his sister Maria Anna, known as "Nannerl" (30/31 July 1751–1829), to survive. Leopold, who in 1737 had left his native Augsburg to study at the Salzburg Benedictine University but was expelled for insubordination and for failing to complete his studies, married Maria Anna on 21 November 1747, while employed as a violinist in the Salzburg court music establishment. A composer and theorist as well as an accomplished violinist, he was well known throughout parts of German-speaking Europe even before Wolfgang's birth and the publication of his important *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, also in 1756. His duties at court included not only performing but also teaching violin, arranging for the purchase of music and musical instruments, composing and, on a regular, rotating basis, directing the court music.

Oil painting from 1809 of the Löchlplatz (now the Hagenauerplatz), Salzburg, directly across from Mozart's birthplace at Getreidegasse 9. The fountain was removed in 1858. Original: Salzburg Museum

The Mozart family rented an apartment on the third floor of the house at Getreidegasse 9, which was owned by Johann Lorenz Hagenauer, who ran a thriving spice and grocery business with connections throughout western Europe. The Getreidegasse itself was home to nearly twenty percent of Salzburg's population at the time, including court offices, bakers, goldsmiths, grocers, musicians, hotels and drinking establishments. Almost directly across the street from the Mozarts was the *Rathaus* or town hall, the central locus for much of the public activity in the city such as concerts, balls and town meetings. From his earliest years, then, Mozart was surrounded by the hustle and bustle of a small but prosperous metropolitan centre that — as the leading independent church state north of the Alps — offered considerable scope for social and cultural activity even if, size-wise, it paled in comparison with the major cities he was to visit later.

As far as is known, Leopold was entirely responsible for the education of his children, which included not only music, but also mathematics, reading, writing, literature, languages, dancing and moral and religious training. Mozart's musical talent was apparent early on. In 1759, Leopold started to compile a music notebook with lessons, at first mainly short minuets and trios, that he used to teach Mozart's older sister Nannerl. By the time he was four, Mozart had learned several pieces in the book: Leopold wrote below a scherzo by Wagenseil that "Wolfgangerl learned this piece between 9 and 9.30 on the evening of 24 January 1761, 3 days before his 5th birthday" and below one of the first works entered in it, an anonymous minuet and trio, "Wolfgangerl learned this minuet and trio in a half-hour at 9.30 on the evening of 26 January 1761, a day before his 5th birthday". Shortly afterwards it became "home" to his earliest compositions, including the Andante K1a and the Allegros K1b and K1c which, according to Leopold, Mozart composed "in the first three months after his 5th birthday".

Although there is no record of public keyboard performances by Mozart or his sister in Salzburg at this time, by the end of 1761 Leopold had decided that the children were sufficiently accomplished to tour both Munich and Vienna. He took them to the Bavarian capital in January 1762 (there is no documentation for this trip other than a later reminiscence of Nannerl Mozart's), where they played for Maximilian III Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, and in late September to Vienna, where they appeared twice before Maria Theresia and her consort, Francis I, as well as at the homes of various nobles and ambassadors. On 16 October Leopold wrote to his Salzburg landlord, Lorenz Hagenauer:

> … we have already attended a concert at Count Collalto's, also Countess Sinzendorf introduced us to Count Wilczek and on the 11th to His Excellency the imperial vice-chancellor Count Colloredo, where we had the privilege of seeing and speaking to the leading ministers and ladies of the imperial court … Everyone is already talking about us, and when I went on my own to the opera on the 10th,[1] I heard Archduke Leopold

[1] *Orfeo ed Euridice,* by Christoph Willibald Gluck

talking to someone in another box and saying lots of things, including the fact that there was a boy in Vienna who plays the keyboard so well etc. etc. At 11 o'clock that same evening I received orders to go to Schönbrunn[2] on the 12th. But the next day I received fresh instructions to go there on the 13th as the 12th is the Feast of Maximilian and, therefore, a busy gala, and, as I hear, they want to hear the children at their convenience. The main thing is that everyone is amazed at the boy … We were received with such extraordinary kindness by their majesties that if ever I tell them about it, people will say I have made it all up. Suffice it to say that Wolferl jumped up into the empress's lap, grabbed her round the neck and kissed her right and proper … On the 15th the empress sent 2 dresses, one for the boy and one for the girl.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in the gala dress sent to him by Empress Maria Theresia and his sister Nannerl. Oil paintings by Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni, 1763. Originals: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum

During their stay in Vienna, the French ambassador, Florent-Louis-Marie, Count of Châtelet-Lomont, extended to them an invitation to perform at Versailles, and this may have been the inspiration for an even grander venture: a tour of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, England and Switzerland that began in June 1763 and lasted nearly three and a half years.

Among the family's chief destinations was Paris, where they arrived on 18 November 1763; they had travelled by way of Munich, Augsburg, Ludwigsburg, Mainz, Frankfurt, Coblenz, Aachen and Brussels, giving public concerts, performing privately for local monarchs and nobility, visiting churches and other landmarks, and generally laying the groundwork for the next leg of their journey. In Paris they played before Louis XV on New Year's Day 1764, and they gave public concerts on 10 March and 9 April at the private theatre of a M. Félix in the rue et porte Saint-Honoré. Their most important patron was the German expatriate journalist and diplomat Friedrich Melchior Grimm, who shortly after the family's arrival in Paris wrote about the children in his widely distributed *Correspondance littéraire*:

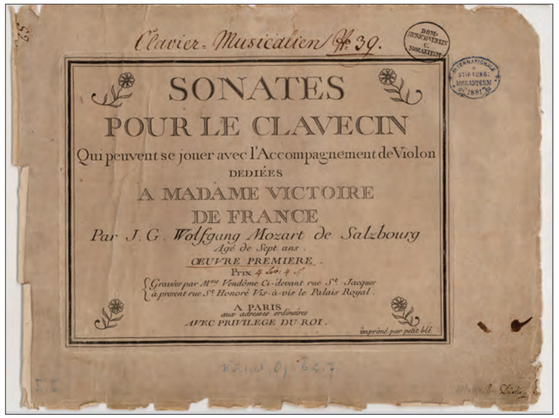
[2] The imperial summer residence, south-west of the former city walls.

True prodigies are sufficiently rare to be worth speaking of when you have had occasion to see one. A Kapellmeister of Salzburg, Mozart by name, has just arrived here with two children who cut the prettiest figure in the world. His daughter, eleven years of age, plays the harpsichord in the most brilliant manner; she performs the longest and most difficult pieces with an astonishing precision. Her brother, who will be seven years old next February, is such an extraordinary phenomenon that one is hard put to believe what one sees with one's eyes and hears with one's ears. It means little for this child to perform with the greatest precision the most difficult pieces, with hands that can hardly stretch a sixth; but what is really incredible is to see him improvise for an hour on end and in doing so give rein to the inspiration of his genius and to a mass of enchanting ideas, which moreover he knows how to connect with taste and without confusion. The most consummate Kapellmeister could not be more profound than he in the science of harmony and of modulations, which he knows how to conduct by the least expected but always accurate paths. He has such great familiarity with the keyboard that when it is hidden for him by a cloth spread over it, he plays on this cloth with the same speed and the same precision. To read at sight whatever is submitted to him is child's play for him; he writes and composes with marvellous facility, without having any need to go to the harpsichord and to grope for his chords. I wrote him a minuet with my own hand and asked him to put a bass to it; the child took a pen and, without approaching the harpsichord, fitted the bass to my minuet. You may imagine that it costs him no trouble at all to transpose and to play the tune one gives him in any key one may ask; but here is something more I have seen, which is no less incomprehensible. A woman asked him the other day whether he was able to accompany by ear, and without looking at it, an Italian cavatina she knew by heart; and she began to sing. The child tried a bass that was not absolutely correct, because it is impossible to prepare in advance the accompaniment to a song one does not know; but when the tune was finished, he asked her to begin again, and at this repeat he not only played the whole melody of the song with the right hand, but with the other added the bass without hesitation; whereafter he asked [her] ten times to begin again, and at each repeat he changed the style of his accompaniment; and he could have repeated this twenty times, if he had not been stopped. I cannot be sure that this child will not turn my head if I go on hearing him often; he makes me realise that it is difficult to guard against madness on seeing prodigies. I am no longer surprised that Saint Paul should have lost his head after his strange vision.[3]

In early 1764 Leopold arranged to have four sonatas for keyboard and violin by Wolfgang published with dedications to Princess Victoire of France, Louis XV's second surviving daughter (K6–7), and to Adrienne-Catherine, Comtesse de Tessé, lady-in-waiting to the *Dauphine*, Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony (K8–9). As Leopold described it in a letter of 3 December 1764, he wanted the public to know

[3] See Acts 9:3–9: "As he neared Damascus on his journey, suddenly a light from heaven flashed around him. He fell to the ground and heard a voice say to him, 'Saul, Saul, why do you persecute me?' 'Who are you, Lord?' Saul asked. 'I am Jesus, whom you are persecuting', he replied. 'Now get up and go into the city, and you will be told what you must do.'"

they were the work of a prodigy and accordingly accepted some trivial mistakes in the sonatas: "I regret that a few mistakes have remained in the engraving, even after the corrections were made … That is the reason why especially in opus II in the last trio you will find three consecutive fifths in the violin part, which my young gentleman perpetrated and which, although I corrected them, old Madame Vendôme left in. On the other hand, they are proof that our little Wolfgang composed them himself, which, perhaps quite naturally, not everyone will believe."


Clavier-Musicalien № 39.

SONATES
POUR LE CLAVECIN
Qui peuvent se jouer avec l'Accompagnement de Violon
DEDIÉES
A MADAME VICTOIRE
DE FRANCE
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Title page of Mozart's sonatas K6–7. The dedication to Madame Victoire de France was probably written by Friedrich Melchior Grimm. Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

Madame

The attempts I lay before your feet are no doubt mediocre; but since Your goodness permits me to adorn them with Your August Name, their success is in no further doubt, and the Public cannot fail to exercise indulgence for their seven-year-old Author since he appears under Your auspices.
I could wish, Madame, that the language of Music were that of gratitude; I should then be less embarrassed in speaking of the impression which Your benefits have left on my heart. I shall carry their remembrance to my country; and so long as Nature, who has made me a Musician as she makes the nightingales, shall inspire me, the name of Victoire shall remain engraved on my memory with the same ineffaceable strokes which mark it upon the hearts of the French nation.
I am, with the most profound respect,
Madame,
Your very humble, very obedient and very small servant,
J.G. Wolfgang Mozart.

Leopold Mozart with his children. Watercolor copy by Ingrid Ramsauer, 2008 after the watercolor by Louis Carrogis de Carmontelle, Paris 1764 (Private Collection). This reproduction: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg

Leopold also arranged for a family portrait to be executed by the painter Louis Carrogis (known as Carmontelle), showing Wolfgang at the harpsichord, Leopold standing behind him playing the violin, and Nannerl singing. At least three copies of the portrait were made, but more importantly, it was engraved as a "souvenir" of the family and sold together with Wolfgang's earliest sonatas. Widely distributed — not just in Paris but also in London and throughout western Europe as late as 1778 — it was the dominant public image of Mozart at least until his move to Vienna in early 1781.

It was not Leopold's original intention to travel from Paris to London. On 28 May 1764 he wrote to Hagenauer, "When I left Salzburg, I was only half resolved to go to England: but as everyone, even in Paris, urged us to go to London, I made up my mind to do so; and now, with God's help, we are here." Within days of their arrival they played for George III, in June they gave a concert for their own benefit at the Great Room in Spring Garden, and later that month Wolfgang performed "several fine select Pieces of his own Composition on the Harpsichord and on the Organ" at Ranelagh Gardens during breaks in a performance of Handel's *Acis and Galatea*. Further benefit concerts (possibly including Wolfgang's

earliest symphonies, K16 and K19) were given the next season, on 21 February and 13 May 1765. After nearly fifteen successful months in London, including the publication of keyboard and violin sonatas dedicated to Queen Charlotte (K10–15), the family left in July 1765. It was a visit that left a lasting impression on both the Mozarts and eighteenth-century Londoners — on the Mozarts because they collected engravings of the London sites they had visited, and for Londoners because of the novelty of some of Wolfgang's performances at the time; as late as 1784 the *European Magazine and London Review* recalled that "the first instance of two persons performing on one instrument in this kingdom was exhibited in the year 1765, by little Mozart and his sister".

Engraving of the Foundling Hospital, London, owned by the Mozarts. Original: Salzburg Museum

From London the family intended to return to Paris, but as Leopold Mozart wrote in a letter of 19 September 1765:

> The Dutch envoy in London repeatedly urged us to visit the Prince of Orange in The Hague but I let this go in one ear and out the other. We prepared for our departure and so little did I think of going to Holland that I sent *all our furs* and other things in a trunk to Paris. In the event we actually left London on 24 July and spent a day in Canterbury … On the day of our departure the Dutch envoy drove to our lodgings and discovered that we had gone to Canterbury for the races, after which we would be leaving England. He was with us in a trice and begged me to go to The Hague, saying that the Princess of Weilburg — the sister of the Prince of Orange — was extraordinarily anxious to see this child, about whom she had heard and read so much. In a word, he and everyone else had so much to say on the subject, and the proposal was so attractive, that I had to decide to come…

The Mozarts played for Caroline, Princess of Nassau-Weilburg (to whom Mozart later dedicated the sonatas K26–31), on 12 and 19 September and gave at least six public concerts, at The Hague, Amsterdam and Utrecht, between September 1765 and April 1766. In March they attended the installation of Wilhelm V as Prince of Orange, for which Mozart composed the *Galimathias musicum* K32 (his other works from this time include the Symphony K22, the aria *Conservati fedele* K23 and two sets of variations for keyboard K24 and K25, on the song "Willem van Nassau").

As early as 28 May 1764, while the family was still in London, Leopold had written to Hagenauer that "what [Wolfgang] knew when we left Salzburg is a mere shadow of what he knows now", an idea that, a few months after the family's return to Paris on 10 May 1766, Grimm took up in a second article for the *Correspondance littéraire*:

> 15 July 1766. We have just seen again here the two lovable children of M. Mozart, maître de chapelle to the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, who had such a great success during their visit to Paris in 1764. Their father, having spent nearly eighteen months in England and six months in Holland, has just brought them back here, to return hence by way of Switzerland to Salzburg. Wherever these children have stayed awhile, they have won everyone's approval and caused astonishment among the connoisseurs. They were dangerously ill at The Hague; but their good star at last delivered them both from the illness and from the doctors. Mlle Mozart, now thirteen years of age, and moreover grown much prettier, has the most beautiful and most brilliant execution on the harpsichord. Her brother alone is capable of robbing her of supremacy. This marvellous child is now nine years old. He has hardly grown at all; but he has made prodigious progress in music. He was already a composer and the author of sonatas two years ago. He has since had six engraved in London for the Queen of Great Britain. He has published another six in Holland for the Princess of Nassau-Weilburg. He has composed symphonies for full orchestra which have been performed and generally applauded here. He has even written several Italian arias and I have little doubt that before he has reached the age of twelve, he will already have had an opera performed at some Italian theatre. Having heard Manzuoli in London all one winter, he profited so well from this, that although his voice is excessively weak, he sings with as much taste as soul. But what is most baffling of all is the profound knowledge of harmony and its most recondite progressions which he possesses to a supreme degree, and which caused the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, a very competent judge in this matter, as in many others, to say that many Kapellmeisters who have reached the summit of their art will die without ever knowing what this child of nine knows. We have seen him for an hour and a half on end withstand the assaults of musicians, and while they sweated blood and had the hardest struggle in the world to keep even with him, the child came out of the combat unfatigued. I have seen him at the organ, disconcerting and silencing organists who thought themselves very highly skilled. In London Bach took him between his knees and they played alternately on the same keyboard for two hours together, extempore, before the King and the Queen. Here he went through the same trial with M. Raupach, an able musician who was for a long time in St Petersburg and who improvises in a very superior manner. One could talk interminably about this singular phenomenon. He is, moreover, one of the most lovable of creatures imaginable, who puts wit and spirit into everything he says and does,

with all the grace and sweetness of his age. He even reassures one with his gaiety against the fear that so premature a fruit might fall before it has come to maturity. If these children live, they will not remain at Salzburg. Before long monarchs will vie for their possession. The father is not only a gifted musician, but a man of sense and good nature, and I have never seen a man of his profession who united so much talent to so much merit.[4]

Grimm's praise for Mozart was no special pleading on the part of a family friend and patron. By this time Wolfgang had become a Europe-wide phenomenon, his performances widely written about in the press and discussed among music lovers of all classes. On 15 August 1766 a ribbon manufacturer in Lyon, Johann Rudolf Forcart, wrote to his brother-in-law in Basle:

There is here M. Mozart … who is touring Europe with his son and his daughter, who are prodigies on the harpsichord; you may perhaps remember having read about it in the Basle gazette some years ago, at the time he was in Paris … They gave a concert here in the last few days at which they played the most difficult pieces, and all the symphonies that were played were of the composition of this little virtuosus, and he preluded for a quarter of an hour with the most skilled local master, yielding in nothing to him; in short, he must be seen to be believed, just as the poster announced …

Earlier, in October 1765, Joseph Yorke, British ambassador at The Hague, wrote to his brother Philip Yorke, 2nd Earl of Hardwicke, that "… we have got the little German Boy here who plays upon the Harpsichord like Handel, & composes with the same facility, he is really a most extraordinary effort of Nature…".

From Paris, where they stayed for two months, the family set out on the last leg of their journey, travelling to Salzburg circuitously by way of Dijon, Lyon, Lausanne, Zurich, Donaueschingen, Dillingen, Augsburg and Munich. They arrived home on 29 November 1766, an event noted in the diary of Beda Hübner, a family friend and librarian at the monastery of St Peter's in Salzburg:

I cannot forbear to remark here also that today the world-famous Herr Leopold Mozart, deputy Kapellmeister here, with his wife and two children, a boy aged ten and his little daughter of 13, have arrived to the solace and joy of the whole town … the two children, the boy as well as the girl, both play the harpsichord, or the clavier, the girl, it is true, with more art and fluency than her little brother, but the boy with far more

[4] Mozart was ten years old, not nine as reported by Grimm. "Bach" is Johann Christian Bach (1735–1782), music master to Queen Charlotte and the youngest son of Johann Sebastian Bach. Hermann Raupach (1728–1778) was an expatriate German composer active at Paris from 1762; in 1767 Mozart arranged movements from his opus 1 keyboard sonatas as movements in the concertos K37, K39 and K41.

refinement and with more original ideas, and with the most beautiful harmonic inspirations … There is a strong rumour that the Mozart family will again not long remain here, but will soon visit the whole of Scandinavia and the whole of Russia, and perhaps even travel to China, which would be a far greater journey and bigger undertaking still: de facto, I believe it to be certain that nobody is more celebrated in Europe than Herr Mozart and his two children.

The family remained in Salzburg for barely nine months, during which time Wolfgang wrote the Latin comedy *Apollo et Hyacinthus*, the first part of the oratorio *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten und fürnehmsten Gebots* and the *Grabmusik* K42. They set out — not for Scandinavia, Russia or China, but for Vienna — in September 1767. Presumably Leopold timed this visit to coincide with the festivities planned for the marriage of the sixteen-year-old Archduchess Josepha to King Ferdinand IV of Naples. Josepha, however, contracted smallpox and died the day after the wedding was to have taken place. While the court was in mourning, and in order to protect his children from the outbreak, Leopold took his family first to Brünn (now Brno) and then Olmütz (now Olomouc), where both Nannerl and Wolfgang nevertheless had mild attacks.

Shortly after their return to Vienna in January 1768, Leopold conceived the idea of securing for Wolfgang an opera commission, *La finta semplice*. But court intrigues conspired against its performance and after several months of frustration and mistreatment at the hands of the court musicians — so Leopold claimed — he wrote the Emperor a petition:

Species facti
Many members of the local nobility having been convinced of my son's extraordinary talent both by reports from abroad and by examining him for themselves, including setting him tests, it was invariably regarded as one of the most astonishing events of these and earlier times that a boy of 12 might write an opera and conduct it himself. A learned paper from Paris confirmed this opinion by declaring, after a detailed account of my son's genius, that *there is no doubt that at the age of 12 this child will write an opera for one or other of the Italian theatres*; and everyone thought that a German should reserve this distinction for his own country alone. I was unanimously encouraged in this; I heeded the general voice, and the Dutch minister, Count Degenfeld, was the first to put this suggestion to the impresario Sgr Affligio, since he was already well acquainted with the boy's ability from our meeting in Holland. The singer Caratoli was the second person to suggest it to Affligio; and the matter was decided with the impresario at the home of the physician-in-ordinary Laugier in the presence of young Baron van Swieten and two singers Caratoli and Garibaldi, the more so in that all of them, and especially the 2 singers, declared most emphatically that the whole of Vienna would be drawn to the theatre by even very mediocre music composed by so young a boy because of the extraordinarily wondrous nature of the event, not least to see this child in the orchestra, conducting his work from the harpsichord. I therefore allowed my son to write it.

As soon as the first act was finished, I asked Caratoli to listen to it and criticise it in order to be sure of my position. He came, and so great was his surprise that he returned the next day, bringing Garibaldi with him. Garibaldi, no less amazed, brought Poggi to see me a few days later. All demonstrated such uncommon acclaim that, on my repeatedly asking: *whether they really thought it was any good? — whether they felt he should continue?* — — they were annoyed at my misgivings and more than once exclaimed with some feeling: cosa? — — come? questo è un portento! questo opera andera [recte: andrà] alle stelle! è una meraviglia! — non dubiti, che scrivi avanti! — &c. and a whole host of other remarks. Caratoli said the same to me afterwards in his own room.

Assured of the desired success by the singers' approval, I left my son to get on with the work; but I also asked the physician-in-ordinary Laugier to sort out in my name the matter of payment with the impresario. This was done; and *Affligio promised 100 ducats*. In order to shorten my stay in Vienna, which was proving expensive, I then suggested that the opera be performed before Your Majesty left for Hungary; but some changes that the poet had to make to the text delayed work on the score; and Affligio declared that he would perform it after Your Majesty's return.

The opera had by now been finished for some weeks. A start was made on copying the parts; and the first act was handed to the singers, followed shortly afterwards by the second: in the meantime my son was on several occasions asked by the nobility to perform this or that aria and even the first-act finale on the harpsichord, and this was admired by all, as Affligio saw and heard for himself at Prince Kaunitz's. The rehearsals were now to begin.

But — how could I have suspected this! — this was also where the persecutions of my son began.

It is very rarely that an opera turns out a complete success at its very first rehearsal and that the occasional change does not have to be made. This is why we normally begin with the keyboard alone and why we never rehearse with all the instruments until the singers have rehearsed their parts together, especially the finales.

But here exactly the opposite happened. The roles were still inadequately rehearsed, the singers hadn't had any clavier rehearsals and the finales hadn't been rehearsed together, and yet the first act was rehearsed with the full orchestra in order to ensure that from the outset the whole affair appeared deficient and confused. No one who was present will be able to call this a rehearsal without blushing; I shall say nothing about the unkind behaviour of those who have this on their consciences. May God forgive them.

After the rehearsal Affligio said to me: *it was good; but as this and that passage was too high, a few changes would have to be made here and there: I'd just like to speak to the singers; and as His Majesty will be here in 12 days, he could present the opera in 4 or, at the most, 6 weeks from now so as to have time to get everything into proper shape. I was not to dwell on this; he was a man of his word and would do as he'd promised; there was nothing new in this; with other operas, too, changes had to be made etc. etc.*

Leopold Mozart. Oil painting by Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni, Salzburg, c. 1765
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

The changes demanded by the singers were duly made and two new arias added to the first act: but in the meantime *La Caschina*[5] was performed at the theatre. By now the agreed term was over, and I heard that Affligio had cast another opera. It was even being said that Affligio would not perform the opera at all and that he had given people to understand *that the singers were unable to sing it*, even though these same singers had previously not just approved of it but praised it to the skies.

In order to defend me against such gossip, my son had to play through the whole opera at the harpsichord at the home of young Baron van Swieten in the presence of Count Spork, the Duke of Braganza and other people knowledgeable about music. They all expressed their surprise at the behaviour of Affligio and the singers; all were much exercised by this turn of events and declared to a man that such un-Christian, untruthful and malicious behaviour was incomprehensible, that they preferred this opera to many an Italian opera and that instead of encouraging such a heaven-sent talent, a cabal was behind it all, a cabal evidently designed to prevent the innocent boy from achieving the honour and fortune he deserved.

I went to see the impresario to learn the truth of the matter. He said to me: *he had never been against performing the opera, but I would surely not hold it against him if he looked to his own interests; some doubts had been expressed to the effect that audiences might not like it; he'd put* La Caschina *into rehearsal and now intended to do the same with* La buona figliuola*, but after that he'd perform the boy's opera; if, contrary to his wishes, it failed to please, he would at least be provided with two other operas*. I drew his

[5] Niccolò Piccinni's *La Cecchina, ossia la buona figliuola* — an *opera buffa* based on Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* — was first given at the Teatro delle Dame, Rome, on 6 February 1760.

attention to my already lengthy stay and the fact that I had had to extend it. He replied: *Come now! What are 8 days more or less, I'll then take it in hand at once.* And we left it at that. Caratoli's arias were altered; everything was sorted out with Garibaldi; and the same was true of Poggi and Laschi etc. Each of them assured me repeatedly that *they had no objections; everything depended on Affligio.* Meanwhile more than a month had passed. The copyist told me that he had received no further instructions to copy out the revised arias; and on hearing at the dress rehearsal of *La buona figliuola* that Affligio was planning to give another opera, I tackled him myself. In the presence of myself and Coltellini he thereupon ordered the copyist to have everything distributed within two days and gave instructions for the opera to be rehearsed with the orchestra in a fortnight at the latest.

But the poor child's enemies — whoever they may be — have again prevented this. That very same day the copyist received orders to stop work: and a few days later I discovered that Affligio had decided not to give the boy's opera in the theatre after all. Wanting to know what was going on, I went to see him and was told *that he had called the singers together and they had admitted that although the opera was incomparably well written, it was untheatrical and as a result they could not perform it.* Such talk was utterly incomprehensible to me. For would the singers really dare, without blushing for shame, to dismiss what they had earlier praised to the skies, a work that they themselves had encouraged the boy to write and that they had commended to Affligio himself? — — I replied to the effect that *he could not expect the boy to have taken the trouble to write an opera for nothing. I reminded him of his agreement; I gave him to understand that he had led us by the nose for four months and that as a result we had incurred expenses of more than 160 ducats. I reminded him of the time I had wasted and assured him that I would hold him responsible not only for the 100 ducats that he had agreed with the physician-in-ordinary Laugier but also for all other expenses.*

To this reasonable demand of mine he gave an incomprehensible answer that betrayed the embarrassment with which he now sought — I know not how — to rid himself of the whole affair, before leaving me with the most scandalously unkind remarks: *if I wanted to see the boy prostituted, he would ensure that the opera was booed and laughed off the stage.* Coltellini heard all this. Was this, then, to be the reward that my son was to be offered for the great labour of writing an opera — the manuscript of which runs to 558 pages — and for the waste of time and the expenses we have incurred? — — And ultimately — and it is this that concerns me most — what of my son's honour and fame now that I no longer dare insist on a performance of the opera, since I have been given to understand plainly enough that no effort will be spared in performing it as wretchedly as possible; and since, futhermore, they are claiming now that the work is unsingable, now that it is untheatrical, now that it does not fit the words, now that he is incapable of writing such music — and all manner of foolish and self-contradictory nonsense, all of which would vanish like smoke to the shame of our envious and perfidious slanderers if, as I most urgently and humbly entreat Your Majesty for my honour's sake, the musical powers of my child were to be properly examined, so that everyone would then be convinced that the only aim of these people is to stamp on and destroy the happiness of an innocent creature

to whom God has granted an extraordinary talent and whom other nations have admired and encouraged, and to do this, moreover, in the capital of his German fatherland.

As a result of Leopold's petition, Joseph II ordered an investigation by Spork, but nothing came of it, and *La finta semplice* was not performed. Presumably as compensation, Wolfgang was asked to compose a trumpet concerto (K47c, lost), an offertory (K47b, lost) and a Mass (K139) that were given on 7 December at the dedication of the orphanage church Mariä Geburt in the Rennweg. During his time in Vienna Mozart also composed two symphonies (K45 and K48), the Singspiel *Bastien und Bastienne* (K50) — which is said, without any evidence, to have been performed at the home of the physician Franz Anton Mesmer — and in December he published two songs, *An die Freude* and *Daphne, deine Rosenwangen* (K52 and K53), in the *Neue Sammlung zum Vergnügen und Unterricht*, a periodical for children.

The Mozarts returned to Salzburg in January 1769, where *La finta semplice* may have been given to celebrate the name-day of Archbishop Schrattenbach in May, and Wolfgang apparently composed three substantial orchestral serenades (K63, K99 and K100) — documents show that two such works were performed in August to mark the end-of-year celebrations of the logicians and physicians at the Salzburg Benedictine University — as well as the so-called "Dominicus" Mass (K66), which was performed at St Peter's for the first Mass celebrated by Lorenz Hagenauer's son Kajetan Rupert, who had taken the name Father Dominicus. Presumably in recognition of his reputation as a composer and performer, in November Mozart was appointed to the Salzburg court music as third violinist on an unpaid basis, with the promise of a paid position on his return from an upcoming trip to Italy that was subsidised in part by the Archbishop.

Father and son set out for Italy — where they would travel two more times before the end of 1773 — in December, travelling by way of Innsbruck and Rovereto to Verona, where they arrived on 27 December and where Mozart gave a public concert on 5 January that was reviewed in the *Gazzetta di Mantova* on 12 January:

> VERONA, 9 January. This city cannot do otherwise than declare the amazing prowess in music possessed, at an age still under 13 years, by the little German boy Sig. Amadeo Wolfango Motzart, a native of Salzburg and son of the present maestro di cappella to His Highness the Prince-Archbishop of that city. On Friday the 5th inst., this youth gave, at one of the halls of the noble Philharmonic Academy, in the presence of the civic authorities and a crowded concourse of nobles of both sexes, such proofs of his expertness in the aforesaid art as to astonish everyone. In the company of a number of distinguished performers he was able to exhibit first of all a most beautiful overture of his own composition, which deserved all its applause. He then splendidly played a harpsichord concerto at sight, and afterwards sonatas that were entirely new to him. This was followed by four verses submitted to him, on which he composed on the spot an aria in the best of taste in the very act of singing it. A subject and a finale proposed to him, he marvellously improvised upon

according to the best rules of the art. He also played a trio by Boccherini very well at sight, and a theme given him on the violin by a professor he admirably composed in score. In short, on this and other occasions, subject to the most arduous trials, he overcame them all with an inexpressible skill, and thus to universal admiration, especially among the music lovers; among them were the Signori Lugiati, who, after enjoying and allowing others to enjoy yet finer proofs of this youth's ability, in the end wished to have him painted from life for a lasting memorial. Nor is this a new idea, considering that, having travelled all over Europe with his father to exhibit himself, he caused so much wonder everywhere, up to the tender age of 7 years, that his portrait was taken everywhere, in Vienna, in Paris, where in fact there are portraits of his whole family, in Holland and in London, where his portrait was placed in the famous British Museum, with an inscription commemorating his stupendous skill in music at the green age of 8 years, which was all he was then. For the rest, we have no doubt that as he progresses on the journey he is now taking through Italy, he will cause the same astonishment wherever he will go, especially among the experts and the intelligentsia.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Verona. Oil painting copy by Ingrid Ramsauer, 2011 after the oil painting by Giambettino Cignaroli, January 1770 (Private Collection)
This reproduction: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg

The reference to the Lugiatis and the portrait Pietro Lugiati commissioned of Mozart is another example, after the Carmontelle family portrait, of the importance in the eighteenth century of visual images as both keepsakes and inspiration, a point Lugiati himself made in a letter of 22 April 1770 to Mozart's mother, Anna Maria:

> Madame,
> Since the beginning of the present year this our city has been admiring the most highly prized person of Signor Amadeo Volfango Mozart, your son, who may be said to be a miracle of nature in music, since Art could not so soon have performed her mission through him, were it not that she had taken his tender age into account. I was certainly among his admirers, although, however much pleasure I have always taken in music and much as I have heard of it on my travels, I cannot hope to be an infallible judge of it; but I have certainly not been mistaken in the case of so amazing a boy, and I have conceived such a regard for him that I had him painted from life … This charming likeness of him is my solace, and serves moreover as incitement to return to his music now and again, so far as my public and private occupation will permit …

The portrait is important in another respect: it is the only source for the Molto allegro K72a, the music on the stand of the harpsichord at which Mozart is seated. In the absence of an autograph manuscript, the authenticity of the work has been called into question; possibly the work is not by Mozart but a timely homage to a more local composer such as Galuppi. Nevertheless, a close look at the picture itself seems to suggest that the music manuscript is in fact a representation of the lost autograph: the musical handwriting is not Italian but very much like Mozart's own. Presumably the score would have been left with the artist when the Mozarts moved on from Verona, which explains not only why the autograph has never been known but also — if it does represent the lost autograph — vouches for Mozart's authorship.

After a brief stop in Mantua, where he gave a concert on 16 January that was described by the local newspaper as "a brilliant success", Mozart and his father arrived at Milan on 23 January. There they were patronised by Count Carl Joseph Firmian, the Austrian minister plenipotentiary, and it was presumably as a result of his performances for Firmian, and in particular a grand concert on 12 March for which he composed several arias (possibly K77 and versions of K71 and K83), that Wolfgang was commissioned to write the first opera for the 1770–71 Milan opera season, *Mitridate, re di Ponto*.

From Milan the Mozarts travelled via Lodi, Piacenza, Parma, Modena and Bologna (where on 26 March Wolfgang performed for Count Giovanni Luca Pallavicini-Centurione) to Florence, where they were received by Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, met the famous contrapuntist Eugène, Marquis de Ligniville, and renewed their acquaintance with the famous castrato Giovanni Manzuoli, whom they had met in London. Mozart also struck up a friendship with the young English violin prodigy Thomas Linley, a pupil of Pietro Nardini, who according to Leopold's letter to his wife of 21 April 1770,

> *plays most beautifully* and who is the same age and the same size as Wolfgang … The two boys performed one after the other throughout the whole evening, constantly embracing each other. On the following day the little Englishman, a most charming boy, had his violin brought to our rooms and played the whole afternoon, Wolfgang accompanying him on his own. On the next day we lunched with M. Gavard, the administrator of the grand ducal finances, and these two boys played in turn the whole afternoon, not like boys, but like men! Little Tommaso accompanied us home and wept bitter tears, because we were leaving the following day. But when he heard that our departure would not take place until noon, he called on us at nine o'clock in the morning and gave Wolfgang many embraces … Then he accompanied our carriage as far as the city gate. I should like you to have witnessed this scene.

Thomas Gainsborough, portrait of Thomas Linley and his sister the soprano Elizabeth Ann, later wife of the playwright Richard Sheridan, 1774
Original: Private Collection

From Florence Mozart and his father travelled to Rome, where they arrived on 10 April, in time for Holy Week. Mozart famously made a clandestine copy of Allegri's *Miserere* and may have composed two or three symphonies (a reference in Mozart's letter of 25 April is ambiguous: "When I have finished this letter I will finish a symphony which I have begun … A[nother] symphony is being copied") as well as the aria *Se ardire, e speranza* K82. On 5 July Clemens XIV created Mozart a Knight of the Golden Spur, a personal honour bestowed by the Pope for special services. In the meantime, Wolfgang and Leopold had travelled to Naples, where they met William Hamilton and his wife Catherine, attended Niccolò Jommelli's opera *Armida*, and visited the local sites:

> On the 13th — St Anthony's Day — you'd have found us at sea. We took a carriage and drove out to Pozzuoli at 5 in the morning, arriving there before 7 and taking a boat to Baia, where we saw the baths of Nero, the underground grotto of Sybilla Cumana, the Lago d'Averno, Tempio di Venere, Tempio di Diana, il Sepolchro d'Agripina, the Elysian Fields or Campi Elisi, the Dead Sea, where the ferryman was Charon, la Piscina Mirabile and the Cente Camerelle etc., on the return journey many old baths, temples, underground rooms etc., il Monte Nuovo, il Monte Gauro, il Molo di Pozzoli, the Coliseum, the Solfatara, the Astroni, the Gotta del Cane, the Lago di Agnano etc., but above all the Grotto di Pozzuoli and Virgil's grave.[6]

Most of the summer was spent in Bologna (where with help from the renowned contrapuntist Padre Martini, Mozart was admitted to the local Accademia Filarmonica after composing the antiphon *Quaerite primum regnum Dei* K86) at the summer home of Giovanni Luca Pallavicini. He returned to Milan in October and began to work in earnest on *Mitridate, re di Ponto*, which was premiered at the Teatro Regio

Anonymous, Grotta di Pozzuoli *c.*1780.
Original: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Ducale on 26 December; including the ballets, it lasted six hours. Leopold had not been confident that the opera would be a success, but it was, running to twenty-two performances.

The Mozarts left Milan on 14 January 1771, stopping at Turin, Venice, Padua and Verona before returning to Salzburg at the end of March. All in all the trip was a notable success, garnering not only praise for Wolfgang, but also further Milanese commissions, including the serenata *Ascanio in Alba* for the wedding the following October of Archduke Ferdinand and Princess Maria Beatrice Ricciarda of Modena, and the first carnival opera of 1773, *Lucio Silla*. Accordingly, Leopold and Wolfgang spent

[6] Pozzuoli is the largest city on the Phlegrean peninsula, named from the Latin *putèoli* ("little wells"), a reference to the area's numerous sulphur fumaroles; originally a Greek colony founded in the sixth century BC — and later the site of the apostle Paul's landing on his way to Rome — Pozzuoli was (and is) known for its ancient ruins and natural wonders. With Pozzuoli as a base, Mozart and his father visited the Lago d'Averno, a volcanic crater lake near the Campi Flegrei; the volcanic Mount Gauro and the Solfatara crater (the mythological home of the god Vulcan); the Flavian amphitheatre or *coliseo* (the third largest amphitheatre in Italy); the Puteoli Pier, a Roman breakwater also known as the Bridge of Caligula, consisting of fifteen tall piers connected by arches; the Astroni crater, the largest crater in the Campi Flegrei area; Monte Nuovo, the youngest mountain in Europe, formed after a volcanic eruption on 29 September 1538; the Grotta della Sibilla on the shores of Lake Averno, described by Virgil as home to the Cumaean Sibyl; and the Grotta del cane, or Cave of the Dog, in the Agnano crater, the floor of which emits poisonous gas that rises only a few inches — safe for humans but deadly for dogs — that during the period of the "Grand Tour" was a well-known local attraction.

barely five months at home in 1771, during which time Mozart composed an oratorio for Padua, *La Betulia liberata*, which seems never to have been performed, the *Regina coeli* K108, the Litany K109 and the Symphony K110. Father and son set out again on 13 August, arriving at Milan on 21 August. Mozart received the libretto for *Ascanio* at the end of that month, the serenata went into rehearsal on 27 September, and the premiere took place on 17 October. Hasse's Metastasian opera *Ruggiero*, also commissioned for the wedding, had its first performance the day before; according to the Florentine *Notizie del mondo* for 26 October, "The opera has not met with success, and only one ballet [of the two] was performed. The serenata, however, has met with great applause, both for the text and the music." Leopold may have angled for employment at Ferdinand's court about this time but his application was effectively rejected by Ferdinand's mother, Maria Theresia, who in a letter of 12 December advised her son against burdening himself with "useless people" who "go about the world like beggars", an ill-conceived and inaccurate slight against the Mozarts.

The third and last Italian journey, for the composition and performance of *Lucio Silla*, began on 24 October 1772; the opera, premiered on 26 December, had a mixed success, chiefly because of its uneven cast. Although there was little reason to delay their departure from Milan, they did not leave until March; Leopold claimed to be ill, but may have applied for a position with Archduke Leopold of Tuscany, to whom he had sent a copy of the opera. Nothing came of this, however, and Wolfgang and his father set out for Salzburg about 4 March, travelling by way of Verona, Ala, Trento, Brixen and Innsbruck, arriving home on 13 March 1773.

Contrary to what is usually thought, Mozart may well have become acquainted with a wide variety of musical styles in his native Salzburg. Nevertheless, the "Grand Tour" exposed him to repertories, composers and performers in more concentrated fashion than was possible at home. He heard the violinist Pietro Nardini at Ludwigsburg in July 1763 (Leopold wrote that "it would be impossible to hear a finer player for beauty, purity, evenness of tone and singing quality"), and in Paris he met, among others, the German expatriate composers Johann Schobert, Johann Gottfried Eckard and Leontzi Honauer, some of whose sonata movements, together with sonata movements by Hermann Friedrich Raupach and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, he set as the Concertos K37 and K39–41. In London he became acquainted with the soprano Giovanni Manzuoli and the composers Karl Friedrich Abel and Johann Christian Bach, whose influence on Mozart was lifelong. And in Italy, as in London, he became familiar with Italian opera in its most authentic settings.

The works composed by Mozart during the tour of 1763–66 chiefly consist of sonatas, symphonies and arias; many of them, especially the symphonies, are based in part on models encountered by him on his travels. All of the orchestral works are in three movements (lacking a minuet and trio) and are scored for two oboes, two horns and strings. The first movements are in expanded binary form — that is, a form in which the second half mirrors the first half, but with some degree of elaboration or development in the middle — in common time, and have tempo indications of Allegro, Allegro molto or Allegro assai; second movements, also in binary form, are in 2/4 time and marked Andante; and finales are generally in rondo form — the alternation of a repeated "main theme" with episodes that may or may not be significantly different — marked Allegro assai, Allegro molto or Presto, with 3/8 time signatures. On the whole they show a firm grasp of contemporaneous symphonic principles, especially those of Johann Christian Bach, which typically include dramatic dynamic contrasts, especially at the start of the first movement, and contrasting themes that are generally more lyrical than opening themes. Local influences are similarly important for the symphonies composed in Vienna in 1767 and 1768 (K48 in particular), where a four-movement cycle and full sonata form were preferred, and in Italy (for example K74), where he reverted to the standard three-movement cycle typical of other Italian symphonies, with attendant busy string figurations and lighter textures.

The symphonies do not, however, slavishly follow the models encountered by Mozart while on tour and sometimes depart from local norms. The first movement of K16 is in some respects, in particular its development section, more akin to Viennese than London symphonies, while K22 includes an extended orchestral crescendo that is typical of symphonies composed at Mannheim. K112, composed at Milan on 2 November 1771, is unusual — at least among Italian symphonies — for its inclusion of a minuet and trio, and is the first symphony by Mozart to include genuine development, rather than a retransition, shorter or longer, to the recapitulation. Most significantly, it marks an early instance of Mozart obscuring the previously fairly strict association of thematic or motivic material with function: the beginning of the transition is based on the opening thematic material, rather than busy generic figuration. This reinterpretation of previously heard material not only fosters an impression of unity, but also of ambiguity — since the same material can be heard in different contexts — and was to become a standard feature of Mozart's symphonies, and his style in general, during the 1770s and later.

Accompanied sonatas, on the other hand, were more internationally standardised and provided an outlet for Mozart's earliest attempts at composition, since in his sonatas he occasionally had recourse to solo keyboard movements already composed by him in Salzburg or on tour before the family's arrival in Paris, London and the Netherlands. That Mozart's earliest publications were accompanied sonatas comes as no surprise: the genre was suited to amateurs and, as a result, commercially viable, the best vehicle for a budding composer to achieve recognition and bring his works before a large public. Generally these works are in three movements, including a generic fast movement, an Andante and, finally, a pair of minuets (to all intents and purposes a minuet and trio); among the earliest sonatas, only K6 departs from this scheme by including a final Allegro molto. The K10–15 sonatas show more variation in the number and order of movements: K12 and K15 are in two movements only, with the fast–slow order reversed, while K14 has two fast movements and two minuets. K26–31 are more varied still, with a variety of two- and three-movement sonatas in different tempos. In some respects, though, all of the sonatas conform

to gestures typical of the genre as a whole: relatively subservient bass parts, short-winded figuration, and frequent Alberti basses. But they also show increasing sophistication — not unexpectedly, given that even Leopold was astounded at Wolfgang's rapid progress as a composer. In several of the London sonatas the variety of figuration in the keyboard is greater than in the sonatas composed in Paris, there is greater chromaticism, and the rhythms are more sharply etched.

The arias composed on the Grand Tour between 1763 and 1766 sound more like good mimicry than original compositions, and not surprisingly: the types of gestures associated with any particular affect were largely standardised, and Mozart was commonly asked, as part of various challenges put to him, to reproduce those affects. Towards the end of his stay in London, in June 1765, Mozart met the lawyer and naturalist Daines Barrington, who described his encounter with Wolfgang in a paper presented to the Royal Society in September 1769:

> Having been informed … that he was often visited with musical ideas, to which, even in the midst of the night, he would give utterance on his harpsichord; I told his father that I should be glad to hear some of his extemporary compositions.
>
> The father shook his head at this, saying, that it depended entirely upon his being as it were musically inspired, but that I might ask him whether he was in humour for such a composition.
>
> Happening to know that little Mozart was much taken notice of by Manzoli, the famous singer, who came over to England in 1764, I said to the boy, that I should be glad to hear an extemporary *Love Song*, such as his friend Manzoli might choose in an opera.
>
> At this the boy (who continued to sit at his harpsichord) looked back with much archness, and immediately began five or six lines of a jargon recitative proper to introduce a love song.
>
> He then played a symphony which might correspond with an air composed to the single word, *Affetto*.
>
> It had a first and second part, which, together with the symphonies, was of the length that opera songs generally last: if this extemporary composition was not amazingly capital, yet it was really above mediocrity, and shewed most extraordinary readiness of invention.
>
> Finding that he was in humour, and as it were inspired, I then desired him to compose a *Song of Rage*, such as might be proper for the opera stage.
>
> The boy again looked back with much archness, and began five or six lines of a jargon recitative proper to precede a *Song of Anger*.
>
> This lasted also about the same time with the *Song of Love*; and in the middle of it, he had worked himself up to such a pitch, that he beat his harpsichord like a person possessed, rising sometimes in his chair.
>
> The word he pitched upon for this second extemporary composition was, *Perfido*.

With the operas composed in Italy, however, the situation is different. Not only was Mozart a far more experienced composer by 1770, but the setting of texts within a full-scale opera called for greater control and variety than in single arias, if only to maintain, enhance and express the larger narrative. *Mitridate*, for example, still includes some "old-style" *da capo* arias, in which the final section represents a repeat of the opening section, though to avoid excessive length these are sometimes curtailed; Sifare's "Lungi da te" is one example. At the same time, however, some arias, such as Aspasia's "Nel grave tormento", are of a more modern two-tempo type, simpler in structure and more conducive to variety of expression or change of mood. Much of *Ascanio in Alba* is similar.

By the time of *Lucio Silla* (1773) it is fair to say Mozart had more or less mastered *opera seria*, at least as it was practised in the early 1770s. Some arias, such as Giunia's "Ah se il crudel periglio", are showpieces for the singer, in this case the soprano Anna de Amicis; others, such as Cecilio's "Il tenero", are heroic. Several, among them Giunia's "Fra i pensier" and Cecilio's "Ah se a morir mi chiama", plumb depths of pathos and are richly expressive. Perhaps most strikingly of all, the first-act finale is grandly conceived, with a variety of moods, styles and narrative twists that looks forward to the large-scale finales in Mozart's later operas. Some of the music Mozart composed for *Lucio Silla* remained close to his heart for more than a decade, in particular Cecilio's "Pupille amate". A handwritten copy of this aria suggests Mozart may have performed it in Vienna as late as 1786.

But Mozart's development as a composer did not depend entirely on his travels and his acquaintance with major composers working in Paris, London and elsewhere. Contrary to what is usually thought, Salzburg was not a musical backwater, and works by some of these composers, or works similar to them, circulated freely there in the 1750s and 1760s, in addition to South German, Viennese and Italian music, both sacred and secular. At least in part, this was thanks to Leopold Mozart, who in addition to his duties at court was also the agent in Salzburg for the Nuremberg music publisher Johann Ulrich Haffner. Haffner's network included publishers in Vienna, Stockholm, Amsterdam, Berlin, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Leipzig, Prague and London. As a result, Leopold — and Wolfgang — had easy access to works by Karl Friedrich Abel, Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, Carl Heinrich Graun, Johann Anton Kobrich, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, Giuseppe Antonio Paganelli, Johann Joachim Quantz, Franz Xaver Richter, Giovanni Rutini and Domenico Scarlatti, among others. (For his part, Haffner acted as one of Leopold's agents distributing his well-regarded *Versuch einer gründlichen Violinschule*, first published at Augsburg in 1756.)

Verzeichniß
derjenigen Musikalien,
welche bey
Johann Ulrich Haffner,
Lauteniſten in Nürnberg,
in der breiten Gaſſe, im wilden Mann wohnend,
zu haben ſind.

1. * Abel (C.F.) VI. Symphonies à IV. Parties, deux Violons, Alt Viole & Baſſe continue, con les Hautbois & Cornes de Chaſſes ad Libitum. Oeuvre I. fol. Amſterdam.
2. * Adam Recueil d'Airs a danſer, executés ſur le Theatre du Roy à Dresde, accommodés pour le Clavecin, fol.
3. Agrell (Johann) VI. Sinfonie a quattro, cioè Violino I. Violino II. Alto Viola, Violoncello e Cembalo, con II. Trombe, Timpani, Corni da Caccia, Flauti dolci, Traverſi, Oboe ad Libitum. Opera I. fol.
4. - VI. Sonate per il Cembalo ſolo, accompagnate da alcune Arjette, Poloneſi, Minuetti, &c. Opera II. fol.
5. - III. Concerti a Cembalo obligato, Violino I. Violino II. Alto Viola e Violoncello, &c. Opera III. fol.
6. - III. Concerti a Cembalo obligato, Traverſo ò Violino concertato, Violino I. Violino II. Alto Viola, Violoncello e Baſſo ripieno, &c. Opera IV. fol.
7. * d'Alemberts, ſyſtematiſche Einleitung in die muſikaliſche Setzkunſt, nach den Lehrſätzen des Herrn Rameau, aus dem Franzöſiſchen überſetzt, und mit Anmerkungen vermehrt, von Fr. W. Marpurg, etc.

A 2. Alme.

Bibliothek der Universität Erlangen [A 76]

Directory of sheet music and other publications available from music publisher Johann Ulrich Haffner at his shop in Nuremburg. Original: University Library Erlangen-Nürnberg

Other features of his style derive from local Salzburg repertories and composers. Leopold was the leading symphonist in the archdiocese and works by several other Salzburg composers, including Caspar Christelli, Ferdinand Seidl, Johann Ernst Eberlin, Anton Cajetan Adlgasser and Michael Haydn were also known to Wolfgang during the 1760s. Some genres — such as the orchestral serenades composed to mark the end-of-year graduation ceremonies at the Benedictine University or important family events like weddings and name-days — were unique to Salzburg. Mozart's Serenades K63, K99 and K100 largely follow local traditions best represented by Leopold: each has six or more movements plus associated introductory and, sometimes, valedictory marches. More relaxed in style than symphonies, the serenades generally included concertante movements (for violin in K63 and for oboe in K100) and represent a hybrid of symphony and concerto.

Local traditions were particularly important in church music. The Missa brevis K49, although composed in Vienna in 1768, is typical of the Salzburg missa brevis tradition best represented by Eberlin, including a slow introduction to the Kyrie, the juxtaposition of solo and tutti writing in the Gloria and Credo with fugal endings to both, a three-part Sanctus, a solo quartet at the Benedictus and a simple, chordal Agnus Dei followed by a lively triple-time Dona nobis pacem. *Da capo* arias — seemingly directly influenced by locally performed Italian music — are also common, as in the *Regina coeli* K108 and the Salzburg school dramas based on the model of Italian *opera seria*, in particular Mozart's one contribution to the genre, *Apollo et Hyacinthus* K38, which in many respects is a successor to his earlier sacred drama *Die Schuldigkeit des ersten und fürnehmsten Gebots* K35 of 1767. *La finta semplice*, by contrast, is an *opera buffa* dependent on a wide range of orchestral and affective clichés of the sort Daines Barrington had Mozart improvise, as well as a command of extended, multi-sectional finales of the sort by Baldassare Galuppi favoured in Vienna.

It is unlikely that the full extent of Mozart's original output during the 1760s can be known. Many of his early autographs were edited by his father and some works, such as the pasticcio concertos K37 and K39–41 and the Concerto K107, were jointly composed. Other works, including the Sonata for keyboard and violin K8, take over, in whole or in part, movements first written by Leopold. Nor has all of the music composed by Mozart during these years survived. The catalogue of his compositions drawn up by Leopold Mozart in 1768 lists, among others, "thirteen symphonies for 2 violins, 2 oboes, 2 horns, viola, and basso, etc." as well as fifteen arias; yet as far as is known, only eight symphonies and four arias from this time are unquestionably by him. Other lost works include violoncello solos composed in 1766 in Donaueschingen (K33b), six trios for two violins and bass listed in Leopold's catalogue (but not in Köchel) and a fugue for keyboard composed in Salzburg in 1767 (K41e). It is probable that in some instances Leopold's catalogue records works whose autographs were left with different patrons (similar to what may have been the case with K72a) and have since disappeared. Or it may be that the catalogue counts as works pieces composed on the spot by Mozart on various occasions; in Vienna in 1768, Leopold wrote, "I got someone to take down from the shelf a volume of Metastasio's works, open it at random and give Wolfgang the first aria that fell into his hands: he took up his pen and, without giving it any further thought and with the most amazing speed, wrote the music for it, with several instruments, in the presence of several eminent personas. He did this at the homes of Kapellmeister Bonno, Abbate Metastasio, Hasse, the Duke of Braganza and Prince Kaunitz" [Letter of 30 July 1768].[7]

Both the western European tour of 1763–66 and the three trips to Italy between late 1769 and 1773 were largely managed through a network of financial and social contacts. For the western European tour, it was Hagenauer who arranged letters of credit and put Leopold in contact with bankers and other merchants who could execute bills of exchange for him. And aside from Munich and Leopold's native Augsburg, where he already had extensive social contacts, it was word of mouth, newspaper articles and correspondance among the nobility, diplomats and intellectuals that paved the way for the family as they moved from place to place. Shortly after the family's arrival in London, the French philosopher Claude Adrien Helvétius wrote to Francis, 10th Earl of Huntingdon, "Allow me to ask your protection for one of the most singular beings in existence. He is a little German prodigy who has arrived in London the

[7] Anderson, *The Letters of Mozart and his Family*, 89. All five of these arias are apparently lost.

last few days. He plays and composes on the spot the most difficult and the most agreeable pieces for the harpsichord. He is the most eloquent and the most profound composer in this kind. His father's name is Mozart; he is maître de chapelle at Salzburg … All Paris and the whole French court were enchanted with this little boy. I do not doubt that the King and Queen will be charmed to hear him." Often such high-powered recommendations were unnecessary; Pierre-Michel Hennin, the French resident ambassador at Geneva, wrote to Grimm on 20 September 1765, "I was honoured to receive from M. Mozart the letter of recommendation you wrote for him. His children's reputation was already so well known here that they had no need of recommendations."

In Italy, by contrast, the Mozarts had a ready-made social network: the southern branches of prominent Salzburgers and their extended families and acquaintances. Shortly before their departure from Salzburg in December 1769, Franz Lactanz von Firmian, *Obersthofmeister* (the equivalent of Lord Chamberlain) in Salzburg and nephew of the first Archbishop for whom Leopold had worked, Leopold Anton Eleutherius von Firmian, wrote a letter of recommendation for the Mozarts to his cousin Karl Joseph von Firmian, Governor-General of Lombardy. Karl Joseph, in turn, wrote to Bologna, to Count Giovanni Luca Pallavicini-Centurione, a distinguished military man and former Governor-General of Lombardy:

> Your Excellency,
> Seeing that Sig. Leopold Mozart, Kapellmeister in the service of the Prince-Archbishop of Salzburg, is making his way to your city, and with him his son, I take the liberty of recommending them warmly to Your Excellency, moved by the assurance I have of your well-known generosity and kindness, and by the thought that perhaps you will not be displeased to find in young Mozart one of those musical talents but rarely produced by nature, inasmuch as at his tender age he not only equals the masters of the art, but even exceeds them, I believe, in readiness of invention. I hope therefore that Your Excellency will be pleased to honour them with your protection during their stay there and to find them means of appearing in public, I also ask [for this protection] in view of their prudent and most advantageous conduct. Please expect of me in exchange any service I may render you, anxious as I ever am to do justice to all my obligations and to assure you, more than ever of the great respect with which I pass on to sign myself,
> Your Excellency's Milan, 14 March 1770
> Most devoted and obliged servant,
> Carlo, Count Firmian.

The upshot of this chain of recommendations, an encounter in Rome with Pallavicini's cousin Cardinal Lazzaro Opizio Pallavicini, the Vatican secretary of state, was described by Leopold Mozart in a letter to his wife of 14 April 1770:

> on the 12th we attended the *Functiones* and found ourselves very close to the pope while he was serving the poor at table, as we were standing beside him at the top of the table. This is all the more surprising in that we had to go through two doors guarded by Swiss Guards in armour and force our way through several 100 people — and remember that as yet we'd made no acquaintances. But our fine clothes, the German language, and my usual freedom in telling my servant to speak to the Swiss Guards in German and make way for us soon helped us through everywhere. They thought Wolfg. was a German gentleman, others even took him for a prince, and our servant let them believe this; I was taken for his tutor. And so we made our way to the cardinals' table. There it chanced that Wolfg. ended up between the chairs of two cardinals, one of whom was Cardinal Pallavicini.
>
> The latter beckoned to Wolfg. and said to him: *Would you be good enough to tell me in confidence who you are?* Wolfg. told him everything. The cardinal replied with the greatest surprise and said: *Oh, so you're the famous boy about whom so many things have been written?*
>
> To this, Wolfg. asked: *Aren't you Cardinal Pallavicini?* — — The cardinal answered: *Yes, I am, why?* — —
>
> Wolfg. then said to him *that we'd got letters for His Eminence and were going to pay him our respects*. The cardinal was very pleased by this and said that Wolfg. spoke very good Italian, saying, among other things: *ik kann auck ein benig deutsch sprecken* etc. etc.
>
> As we were leaving, Wolfg. kissed his hand, and the cardinal removed his biretta and bowed very politely.

But patrons could also be difficult: some, like Charles Alexandre of Lorraine, Governor of the Austrian Netherlands, made the Mozarts wait more than three weeks without hearing them; Leopold wrote to Hagenauer on 4 November 1763 that "Prince Karl has spoken to me himself and has said that he will hear my children in a few days, yet nothing has happened. Yes, it looks as if nothing will come of it, for the Prince spends his time hunting, eating and drinking…". Performers, especially singers, could be difficult as well. The tenor Guglielmo d'Ettore, who sang the title role in *Mitridate,* insisted that Mozart rewrite his arias multiple times and in the end managed to smuggle one of his trunk arias into the production at the expense of one of Mozart's. *Lucio Silla* hardly fared better. Leopold wrote to his wife on 2 January 1773 that its premiere was nearly ruined by the tenor Bassano Morgnoni:

> … you need to know that the tenor, whom we've had to take faute de mieux, is a church singer from Lodi and had never performed in such a prestigious theatre and had appeared as primo tenore only about twice before in Lodi, and was signed up only about a week before the opening night. He has to gesture angrily at the prima donna in her first aria, but his gesture was so exaggerated that it looked as though he was going to box her ears and knock off her nose with his fist, causing the audience to laugh. Fired by her singing, Sgra De Amicis didn't immediately understand why the audience was laughing and was badly affected by it, not knowing initially who was being laughed at, so that she didn't sing well for the whole of the first night, in addition to which she was jealous because the archduchess clapped as soon as the primo uomo came on

stage. This was a typical castrato's trick, as he'd ensured that the archduchess had been told that he'd be too afraid to sing in order that the court would encourage and applaud him.

The bare facts of Mozart's tours — where and when he played, whom he met, which patrons or performers were helpful or difficult — hardly do justice to their importance, and not just musically. The prevailing view of them, that as far as Leopold Mozart was concerned they were chiefly engineered to exploit Mozart and make money, is belied by Leopold's repeated assertions of their educational importance, his vivid and extended descriptions of the cultures they encountered — social, technological, and with respect to local business practices, architecture, fashion and food — and by his enlightened religiosity. He sincerely believed, as he wrote to Hagenauer from Vienna on 30 July 1768, that Wolfgang was a miracle that "God caused to be born in Salzburg". At the same time, however, he understood that his obligation as a devout Catholic was to educate Wolfgang not only to believe, but also to be rational, to understand the world around him. As late as 1777, when Mozart was in Mannheim, Leopold wrote to him: "I often pointed out to you that — even if you were to remain in Salzburg until a couple of years after you'd turned twenty — you'd lose nothing, because in the meantime you'd have a chance to get a taste of other useful sciences, to develop your intellect by reading good books in various languages and to practise foreign tongues." This idea of education, broadly conceived, was as strong a motivation for the early tours as any musical goals Leopold might have had for his children. And it was an idea he had learned as a student at the Salzburg Benedictine University in the late 1730s, where he was acquainted with Anselm Desing, a prominent philosopher and historian. Leopold owned at least one of Desing's books, the *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie vor Junge Leuthe* first published in 1750. Desing was clear why travel was a necessary, modern undertaking: it served both to educate and to allow one to learn man's place in God's creation.

World map from Anselm Desing, *Hinlängliche Schul-Geographie.* Original: Salzburg University Library

There is no mistaking the palpable excitement in Leopold's descriptions of the people he met, of the places he and his family visited, and of the novelty of travel. "To see English people in Germany is nothing to write home about", he wrote on 28 May 1764, shortly after the family's arrival in London. "But to see them in their own country and by choice is very different. The sea and especially the ebb and flow of the tide in the harbour at Calais and Dover, then the ships and, in their wake, the fish that are called porpoises rising up and down in the sea, then — as soon as we left Dover — to be driven by the finest English horses that run so fast that the servants on the coach seat could scarcely breathe from the force of the air — all this was something entirely strange and agreeable."[8]

Observing local customs was important to Leopold, especially as they served to challenge received wisdom. When he was in Paris, he wrote to Salzburg:

> In Germany people believe mistakenly that the French are unable to withstand the cold; but this is a mistake that is revealed as such the moment you see all the shops open all winter. Not just the businessmen etc. but the tailor, shoemaker, saddler, cutler, goldsmith etc., in a word, all kinds of trades, work in open shops and before the eyes of the world … year in, year out, whether it's hot or cold … Here the women have nothing but chauffrettes under their feet: these are small wooden boxes lined with lead and full of holes, with a red-hot brick or hot ashes inside, or little earthenware boxes filled with coal. [Letter of 22 February 1764]

As for fashion, in a letter from London, Leopold wrote:

> No woman goes out into the street without wearing a hat on her head, but these hats are very varied; some are completely round, others are tied together at the back and may be made of satin, straw, taffeta etc. All are decorated with ribbons and trimmed with lace … Men never go out bare-headed, and a few are powdered. Whenever the street urchins see anyone decked out and dressed in a vaguely French way, they immediately call out: *Bugger French! French bugger!* The best policy is then to say nothing and pretend you haven't heard. Were it to enter your head to object, the rabble would send in reinforcements and you'd be lucky to escape with only a few holes in your head. For our own part, we look entirely English. [Letter of 28 May 1764]

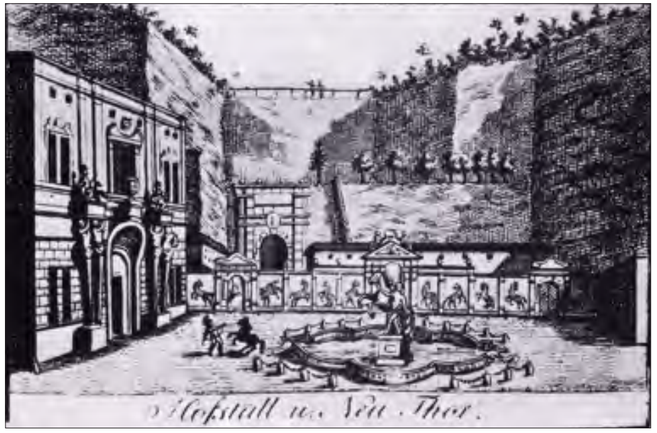
Leopold doesn't say so, but a sentence later in the same letter suggests he may have learned this lesson the hard way, that his account of the street urchin rabble may be an account of the family's own experiences in London: "The expensive dress that I bought my little girl in Paris — it has a pale yellow background, with flowers and broad gold stripes, and is very beautiful — I brought with me to England."

[8] Letters of 28 May 1764; Cliff Eisen, ed., *Mozart. A Life in Letters* (London, 2006), 36.

One of the recurring themes in Leopold's letters, a theme that made him reflect not only on differences between Salzburg and the world at large, but also how he might himself be an agent of modernity, is engineering, especially as it related to urban geography. In a letter of 8 December 1763 from Paris he wrote to Hagenauer how struck he was that the city had no walls. So when, in 1766, it was decided to cut a tunnel through the Salzburg Mönchsberg that would ease access in and out of the city, Leopold put forward his own ideas, ideas clearly influenced by what he had observed while on tour:

> According to the description I had, the entrance to the new gate from the town cannot be big because the entire wall in the fountain square, on which the horses are painted, is left standing. I imagine something entirely different: namely, that the entire wall is removed and the gate constructed in such a way that when one enters the city, the fountain is directly in front of him, and he goes around it, left or right. This seems to me freer, more open, easier to navigate, more attractive and more impressive. [Letter of 9 June 1766]

A slightly later engraving shows that the original design — not Leopold's inventive re-imagining based on his experience of urban architecture in Paris — was the one adopted.



The Neutor or New Gate, engraving by Güntherr, after 1816

In any case, science and engineering occupy a prominent place in Leopold's letters. In London he made special note of the Chelsea waterworks, incorporated in 1723, and by the time of the Mozarts' visit to London, supplying water to Hyde Park, St James's Park, throughout Westminster and, from 1755, to near the Buckingham House garden wall. He also purchased an achromatic telescope by Dollond. (The achromatic telescope, which eliminates chromatic aberration by using a combination of two lenses made of differing kinds of glass, thereby correcting differences in the refractive indexes for different wavelengths of light, was first patented in the late 1750s.) Elsewhere in the letters he describes watches and watch mechanisms (including horizontal clocks, a novelty in Paris — Leopold would have bought one but was concerned that the clock-maker in Salzburg, where horizontal clocks were unknown, could not fix it if it broke), the building of military fortifications and the mechanics of new French toilets as well as modes of transportation. In a letter written in Paris on 4 March 1764 he comments on the efficacy of travelling by *schuyt tryt,* or canal boat, through Holland, and from Brussels he wrote of his surprise that the post road from Liège to Paris was paved "like the streets of a town". [Letter of 17 October 1763]

Archaeological history and architecture interested him as well. When he was in Italy with Wolfgang in 1770 he wrote home, "On Monday and Tuesday etc. we're going to take a closer look at Vesuvius, Pompea and Herculaneum — the towns that are currently being excavated — and admire the curiosities that have already been discovered and also take a look at Caserta etc. and Capo di Monte etc." [letter of 16 June 1770]. This passage sums up Leopold's curiosity about the world around him as well as his modernity: under the guidance of volcano-loving William Hamilton, Leopold not only visited this striking natural phenomenon but also, given the opportunity, took in the recently rediscovered ruins surrounding it (Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompei only in 1748). Caserta, the royal palace of Charles VII of Naples designed by Luigi Vanvitelli in 1752, represented one of the architectural marvels of the age, while Capodimonte was home to a well-known porcelain factory established only in 1743.

Mozart's sister Nannerl was clearly influenced by their father with respect to these encounters with the modern world; in her diary from London she described in detail much of what the family saw and in particular the recently founded British Museum, which the Mozarts visited in July 1765:

> I saw the park and a baby elephant, a donkey with white and coffee-brown stripes, so even that they couldn't have been painted [on] better … the Royal Chelsea Hospital, Westminster Bridge, Westminster Abbey, Vauxhall, Ranelagh, the Tower, Richmond, from which there is a very beautiful view, and the Royal [Botanical] Garden, Kew, and Fulham Bridge; the waterworks and a camel; Westminster Hall, the trial of Lord Byron, Marylebone; Kensington, where I saw the royal garden; the British Museum, where I saw the library, antiquities, all sorts of birds, fish … and plants; a particular kind of bird called a bassoon, a rattlesnake …; Chinese shoes, a model of the Grave of Jerusalem; all kinds of things that live in the sea, minerals, Indian balsam, terrestrial and celestial globes and all kinds of other things; I saw Greenwich … the Queen's yacht, the park, where there was a very lovely view, London Bridge, St Paul's, Southwark, Monument, the Foundling Hospital. Exchange, Lincoln's Inn Fields Garden, Temple Bar, Somerset House.

Some of the objects admired by Nannerl either survive or are known from contemporaneous pictures. The "donkey with white and coffee-brown stripes" — a zebra recently brought from South Africa that was part of Queen Charlotte's menagerie at Buckingham House — was painted by George Stubbs in 1763. It was the first zebra seen in England and, to judge by Nannerl's description, an animal entirely unknown, except in books, to Salzburgers. The "model of the Grave of Jerusalem" was almost certainly

one of two models still surviving from the original collection in the British Museum of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

Model of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Original: British Museum

George Stubbs, Zebra, 1763. Original: Yale Center for British Art

Although Mozart was too young at the time to write down his impressions, it is probably safe to assume that he was similarly inquisitive about the world around him, an assumption reinforced by his later engagements with modernity. He took it upon himself to visit the famous Mannheim Observatory in 1778, and in Vienna he was friendly with the well-known scientist Ignaz von Born, head of the Masonic lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht". Late-eighteenth-century technology included the construction and mechanisms of musical instruments as well, to which Mozart was particularly attuned, as his compositions for Anton Stadler's newly invented basset clarinet, the Clarinet Quintet K581 and the Clarinet Concerto K622, and his description, in a letter of 17 October 1777 to his father, of the pianos of Johann Andreas Stein show:

> I must start with Stein's pianofortes. Before I saw any of Stein's work, I'd always preferred Späth's pianos; but now I prefer Stein's, as they damp so much better than the Regensburg instruments. If I strike hard, it doesn't matter whether I keep my finger down or raise it, the sound ceases the moment I produce it. However I attack the keys, the tone is always even. It doesn't produce a clattering sound, it doesn't get louder or softer or fail to sound at all; in a word, it's always even … A particular feature of his instruments is their escape action. Not one maker in a hundred bothers with this. But without escape action it's impossible for a pianoforte not to produce a clattering sound or to go on sounding after the note has been struck; when you strike the keys, his hammers fall back again the moment they hit the strings …

Mozart even worked contemporaneous science into two of his operas: Despina in *Così fan tutte* parodies current theories of animal magnetism, while the three boys in *Die Zauberflöte* descend to the stage in a balloon, a topical reference to the flights in Vienna in 1791 of the French balloonist Jean-Pierre Blanchard.[9]

[9] Animal magnetism, also known as mesmerism, was a medical theory that invisible natural forces exerted by animals could cure human diseases. It was most closely associated with the Mozarts' Viennese patron Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815); see his *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal* (Geneva and Paris, 1779). Jean-Pierre Blanchard (1753–1809) made his first successful hydrogen balloon flight at Paris on 2 March 1784. He was the first to cross the English Channel by air, in 1785, and subsequently gave demonstrations across Europe and, in 1793, in America, at Philadelphia. Blanchard was not the first successful balloonist — both Pilâtre de Rozier's hot air balloon flight of 21 November 1783 and Jacques Charles and Nicolas-Louis Robert's hydrogen balloon flight on 1 December 1783 preceded Blanchard's — but he was among the best-known.

Blanchard's ill-fated attempt of 9 March 1791. Coloured copper plate engraving, 1791. Caption: M. Blanchard's hot air balloon, in which he attempted a journey on 9 March 1791, but which was torn by the wind. When the elements command, art has to obey. So even Blanchard cannot fly up into the air. The wind punctured the balloon, but not Blanchard's renown — innovation, art and courage remain his. Original: Vienna Museum

The idea that Mozart was disengaged from the modern world, and oblivious to anything other than music, is an enduring — if false — biographical trope that became common in the mid-nineteenth century. In 1856, the centenary of Mozart's birth, Eduard Mörike began his fictional *Mozart on the Way to Prague* with a description of a revelation. Mozart and his wife Constanze stop their coach and venture into the Bohemian forest:

> They stepped arm in arm over the roadside ditch, and so at once deep into the gloom of the fir-wood, which soon deepened into a darkness pierced only here and there by a shaft of sunshine striking vividly down on the carpet of velvet moss … "Good God! How glorious!" he cried, gazing up at the lofty boles. "One might be in a church! I feel as though I had never been in a forest, and now I see for the first time what manner of thing it really is — this whole population of trees ranged side by side! No human hand planted them, they grew up all of their own accord, and here they stay for the simple reason that it is fun to be alive and carry on the business of life together … How many strange and beautiful things there are in the great world beyond, and how many here at home, of which I know simply nothing yet, in the shape of natural wonders, sciences, arts and useful crafts…"[10]

[10] Eduard Mörike, *Mozart on the Way to Prague*, transl. Walter and Catherine Alison Phillips (London, 1946), 17–19.

The point of this passage seems clear enough: Mozart's awakening to nature signals his importance to Mörike, and more generally to the nineteenth century, as a proto-Romantic. But it is also biographically and historically problematic. The life it describes — it is 1787 and Mozart was soon to premiere *Don Giovanni* — is pre-revolutionary, still the Age of Enlightenment, yet Mörike's Mozart is distinctly unenlightened, unacquainted with the world around him. At the same time, he is not, or at least not yet, fully Romantic. In short, Mozart, and by extension his music, "belongs" nowhere, a view that has persisted from Mörike's time to our own.

The evidence of Leopold's letters, however, including his encouragement that Mozart learn "other useful sciences … develop your intellect by reading good books in various languages and … practise foreign tongues", as well as Mozart's own engagement with literature, technology and current affairs — with "natural wonders, sciences, arts and useful crafts" — suggests otherwise. Mozart was a modern, enlightened man of his times, and he owed this in no small part to his early travels.

The Musical Correspondence of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart

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Wolfgang Amadé Mozart confessed to his sister Maria Anna "that I am rather lazy when it comes to correspondence", but, "though I detest writing letters, I love receiving them" (2 August 1788). That notwithstanding, we know of 284 extended individual letters as well as sixty-eight postscripts of substantial content written by Wolfgang over the course of some twenty years. 470 letters and fifty postscripts from his father Leopold survive, whereas only a few from his mother and sister. The unique, largely preserved Mozart family correspondence represents for posterity and invaluably rich source of information about the life of Wolfgang Amadé Mozart.

The bulk of the letters come from his numerous journeys. The most and longest trips came during his childhood and youth. The whole family took part in the great prodigy's travels through western Europe from 1763 to 1766. Leopold Mozart addressed his letters during this period to his Salzburg friend and landlord Lorenz Hagenauer. Until the mid-1770s, Wolfgang travelled with only his father accompanying him. Then, with only his mother along, the composer undertook his first trip without Leopold in September 1777. Lasting until the beginning of 1779, it took them to Paris by way of extended stops in Munich and Mannheim. Mozart travelled for the last time during his Salzburg period when he went to Munich in November 1780 for the premiere of *Idomeneo* K366. After settling in Vienna in 1781, he left home less frequently and his letters from abroad became accordingly fewer. In his first years in Vienna, Wolfgang still maintained close contact with his father and sister, regularly writing detailed letters to Salzburg that enabled the two to share in his new life as a freelance musician in the imperial capital. With pride he sent them reports of his numerous academies as well as his appearances in residences of the nobility, his piano pupils and, most of all, his new compositions, especially the piano concertos with which he established himself as both composer and pianist in Vienna — "for my metier the best place in the world" (4 April 1781 to his father).

From the start, his letters were carefully looked after by the family, and they served both as travel descriptions for those at home and as a reminder for later detailed oral narrations. Travel letters are primarily addressed to the closest family members, but they were also conceived as a "newspaper" for friends and acquaintances and were either read aloud or circulated. Thus they had a certain public character. Information about Salzburg's talented son as he journeyed across Europe was certainly intended to be shared openly in his native city. Throughout all the journeys, it was the well-versed letter-writer Leopold who provided extensive reports for Salzburg. While Wolfgang was at work on *Mitridate, re di Ponto* K87 in Milan towards the end of 1770, Leopold kept his wife and daughter at home abreast of the progress and eventual performance of his son's first Italian opera. He did the same for the creation of Wolfgang's other operas for Milan *Ascanio in Alba* K111 (1771) and *Lucio Silla* K135 (1772).

A genuine correspondence between father and son emerged when Wolfgang travelled alone and Leopold stayed behind in Salzburg. This happened for the first time when Wolfgang went off to Paris in September 1777. During the sixteen-month journey, the two musicians exchanged 150 letters, of which half were written by Leopold (with occasional postscripts by his daughter) and half by Wolfgang (with his mother's postscripts). In addition to his descriptions of the most varied Salzburg events, not only musical, the father used his letters mostly to guide his son's journey from a distance. He gave him a wide range of tips about post routes, exchange rates and old acquaintances, as well as on the planning and execution of musical academies. Mozart, for his part, informed his father about his travel plans and destinations, reported on his own concerts, characterised his musical colleagues, described the music he was hearing and — especially significant for posterity — reported on his new compositions.

We are especially fortunate to have the thirty-six letters that the two men exchanged between November 1780 and January 1781 while Wolfgang was in Munich for *Idomeneo*, which had its premiere at the Residenztheater on 29 January 1781. The adaption of *Idoménée*, Antoine Danchet's French *tragédie lyrique*, as an Italian libretto was entrusted to the Salzburg poet and court chaplain Gianbattista Varesco. Leopold functioned as a go-between, conveying Wolfgang's views and wishes. This correspondence, which provides a unique insight into the workshop of an operatic creation before Verdi-Boito and Strauss-Hofmannsthal, shows the extent of Mozart's preoccupation with the text's dramatic quality.

The musical exchange of ideas with his father continued to be important to Wolfgang even after his decisive break with Salzburg in 1781 and the emancipation from Leopold which was consummated with his definitive move to Vienna. The most prominent example of this is the German singspiel *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* K384, composed between July 1781 and the end of March 1782, in whose creation he allowed his father to share thoroughly. Mozart only rarely expressed his aesthetic views on music in general and his own works in particular, but here they appear in abundance. Deeply immersed in the composition, he communicates to his father his conception of an idealised collaboration between composer and librettist. It would be "the best thing of all for a good composer, who understands the stage and is talented enough to make sound suggestions, to meet an able poet, that true phoenix" (13 October 1781).

On occasion, Wolfgang Amadé Mozart, who was fully aware of his own "superior talent (which without impiety I cannot deny that I possess)" (11 September 1778 to his father), also had something to say about his own compositions. One impressive example is his characterisation of the new piano concertos K413–415, composed in the winter of 1782–83, with which he intended to solidify his reputation in Vienna as a composer-virtuoso: "These *concertos* are a happy medium between what is too easy and too difficult; they are very *brilliant*, pleasing to the ear, and natural, without being vapid. There are passages here and there from which the connoisseurs alone can derive *satisfaction*; but these passages are written in such a way that the less learned cannot fail to be pleased, though without knowing why" (28 December 1782 to his father). The letters also tell us that Wolfgang regularly sent his latest piano compositions to his sister, herself an outstanding pianist and piano teacher, in Salzburg, where he wanted them performed only by her.

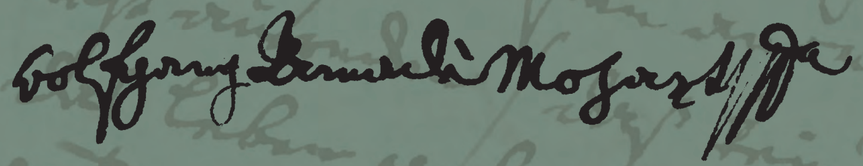
Although there is a wealth of letters documenting certain chapters in Mozart's biography, posterity must also accept the fact of serious gaps elsewhere. Apart from the loss of letters, especially from the Vienna period, the rich sources of information would always dry up whenever Mozart and his father were both at home in Salzburg and thus had no occasion to express themselves in writing, either to one another or to anyone else. So it is that we lack detailed information, for example, on when or for what occasion he composed many of his Salzburg works, including liturgical settings such as masses, litanies and vespers as well as symphonies, divertimenti, serenades and concertos. But in Mozart's middle and later years in Vienna, the declining frequency of his letters also contributed to a scarcity or complete absence of personal remarks on either his activities in the capital or his new compositions. These lacunae can partly be filled by means of Mozart's autograph "Catalogue of all my works", which he initiated in February 1784, as well as newspaper reports and publishers' advertisements.

Mozart's communications during the long trip to Paris are especially rich and vivid. He furnishes detailed information about new works and their dedicatees. Not only do we learn from his letters the names of the family of amateur musicians for whom he wrote the Flute and Harp Concerto K299 in Paris in April 1778, Mozart also describes his efforts — unsuccessful — to instruct the harp-playing daughter of the Duc de Guines, Marie-Louise-Philippine, in composition. Uncommonly detailed is Mozart's description of his pedagogical strategy at the piano with the daughter of the Mannheim court musician Christian Cannabich. For her he wrote the Piano Sonata in C major, K309, tailoring the Andante "to fit closely the character of Mlle Rose" (6 December 1777 to his father). Mozart sent the sonata to his sister Nannerl to study in Salzburg, and so her judgment of the composition and her father's are both preserved (he found "something in it of the rather artificial Mannheim style"; 11 December 1777, Leopold's letter to Wolfgang).

Until the mid-1780s, Wolfgang's letters were almost exclusively addressed to his family (a special case: the cheeky, so-called "Bäsle" letters, full of wordplay, to his Augsburg cousin Maria Anna Thekla Mozart), but in Vienna that expanded to include a number of new correspondents. A relatively small number of individual letters were received by friends, acquaintances and musical colleagues, including Baroness Martha Elisabeth von Waldstätten and Gottfried von Jacquin in Vienna, Sebastian Winter in Donaueschingen and Anton Stoll, choirmaster in Baden. Mozart's letters to his wife Constanze form a group of their own, written either when he was on the road or when she was in nearby Baden taking the waters. Their replies, as well as those of friends and acquaintances, unfortunately do not survive. Some twenty letters to the textile merchant and fellow freemason Johann Michael Puchberg bear witness to Mozart's worsening financial situation in his late Vienna years. From them we learn not only how much money he received from Puchberg but also about the house concerts his friend hosted, for which Mozart probably composed the Piano Trio in E flat K542 and the String Trio K563.

Unlike composers of subsequent generations such as Beethoven, Mendelssohn and Brahms, Mozart did not conduct an intensive correspondence with music publishers. The circulation of his works still took place largely through copies, and most of his Vienna compositions that did appear in print were issued by Viennese firms, principally Artaria & Co, so that there was no need for an extensive exchange of letters.

Translation Richard Evidon



Part II: Salzburg 1773–1780

With his return to Salzburg in March 1773 from the third Italian trip, Mozart's time as a child prodigy was effectively over: he was now third concertmaster in the Salzburg court music establishment and more or less settled into the daily routine, both musical and social, of his native town. Although he was to travel three more times in the next eight years — to Vienna in 1773, to Munich in 1775 and, most significantly, to Mannheim and Paris in 1777–78 — the mid- to late-1770s can justifiably be thought of as his "short" Salzburg decade, not least because it was his return to and later departure from there that bookended what was among the most significant times in his life, both biographically and with respect to his future career and music.

Melchior Küsel, Interior of Salzburg Cathedral, engraving 1682. Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

The Salzburg court music was a sprawling institution, and when Leopold joined as fourth violinist in 1743, its organisation was much the same as it had been at the time of its founding in 1591. In general, it was divided into four distinct and independent groups: the court music proper, which performed in the cathedral, at the Benedictine University and at court; the court- and field-trumpeters, together with the timpanists (normally ten trumpeters and two timpanists), who played in the cathedral, at court and provided special fanfares before meals and at important civic functions; the cathedral music (*Dommusik*), which consisted of the choral deacons (*Domchorvikaren*) and choristers (*Choralisten*) and performed in the cathedral; and the choirboys of the Chapel House (*Kapellhaus*), who also performed at the cathedral and who were instructed by the court musicians.

The chief duty of the court music proper, together with the *Dommusik* and choirboys, was to perform at the cathedral. For elaborate performances, the musicians numbered about forty, sometimes more; on less important occasions the performing forces were reduced. Occasionally musicians did double duty: because the woodwind players, trumpeters and timpanists played less frequently than the strings and vocalists, they were often expected to perform on the violin, and when needed, they filled out the ranks of the orchestra both at the cathedral and at court. The trumpeters and timpanists were under the control of the *Oberststallmeister* (the Master of the Stable); according to a court memo of 1803:

> Their official duties are divided as follows: each day, two [trumpeters] sound the morning signal at court and at the court table, where another plays the pieces and fanfares; accordingly, each day three [trumpeters] are in service and they are rotated every 8 days … For the so-called *Festi palli*,[11] all the trumpeters and two timpanists are divided into two choirs, and play various fanfares in the courtyard before the court table … Every 3 years the trumpeters receive a uniform of black cloth with velvet trim, as well as red waistcoats with wide gold borders as well as ornamental tassels for the trumpets and gold-rimmed hats. They receive [new] trumpets every 6 years, but on festive occasions, the silversmith delivers to them silver trumpets.[12]

A court trumpeter, Gouache, copy by Ingrid Ramsauer, 1993 after the Kuenburgschen Costume Collection Original (Mozart-Wohnhaus). Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg

[11] The consecration of a bishop or archbishop.

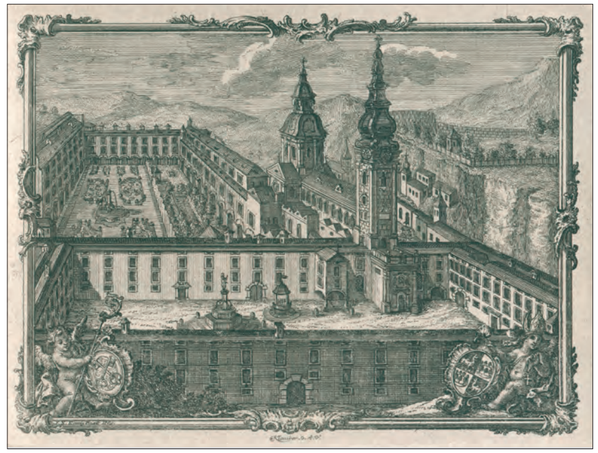
[12] Landesarchiv, Salzburg: Geheime Hofkanzlei XXIX/2b, Fasc. 1, cited in E. Hintermaier and G. Walterskirchen, *Aufzüge für Trompeten und Pauken. Musikstücke für mechanische Orgelwerke* (Salzburg, 1977, Denkmäler der Musik in Salzburg I), viii

Additionally, they performed festive music at Christmas and New Year.

The boys of the chapel house usually consisted of ten sopranos and four altos. Aside from their duties at the Cathedral, where they sang on Sundays and feast days, they also performed at the university, at local churches and occasionally as instrumentalists at court, as well as receiving musical training from the court musicians: the theorist Johann Baptist Samber, Johann Ernst Eberlin, Anton Cajetan Adlgasser, Leopold Mozart and Michael Haydn all taught the choirboys. They also provided compositional opportunities: the Feast of the Holy Innocents (*der Unschuldigen Kindleintag*) on 28 December was traditionally marked by music composed especially for the choirboys: Michael Haydn's *Missa Sancti Aloysii* (for two sopranos and alto, two violins and organ) of 1777 is one example.

In addition to their service at court and at the cathedral, the court musicians also performed at the Benedictine University, where school dramas were regularly given. These belonged to a long tradition of spoken pedagogical Benedictine plays which, during the seventeenth century, developed into an opera-like art form. Salzburg University, the most important educational institution in South Germany at the time, played a leading role in this development. At first, music in the dramas was restricted to choruses that marked the beginnings and ends of acts. By the 1760s, however, the works consisted of a succession of recitatives and arias, based at least in part on the model of Italian opera. A description from 1670 of the anonymous *Corona laboriosae heroum virtuti* shows the extent to which Salzburg school dramas represented a fusion of dramatic genres: "The poem was Latin, but the stage machinery was Italian … The work could be described as an opera. The production costs must have been exceptionally great. It drew a huge crowd. Part of the action was declaimed, part was sung. Gentlemen of the court performed the dances, which in part were inserted in the action as entr'actes. It was a delightful muddle and a wonderful pastime for the audience." Mozart's sole contribution to the genre was *Apollo et Hyacinthus*, performed in 1767 between the acts of Rufinius Widl's Latin tragedy *Clementia Croesi*.

The university also gave rise to an orchestral genre unique to Salzburg: the orchestral serenade. Every year in August, in connection with the university's graduation ceremonies, the students had a substantial orchestral work performed for their professors. Typically these serenades consisted of an opening and closing march and eight or nine other movements, among them two or three concerto-like movements for various instruments. Although the origin of this tradition is not known, it was certainly established as a regular fixture of the academic year by the mid-1740s. Leopold Mozart, who composed more than thirty such works by 1757, was the most important early exponent of the genre. Wolfgang followed in his footsteps: K203, K204 and the so-called "Posthorn" Serenade K320 were all apparently written for the university. Other serenades, similar in style and substance to those for the university, were composed for name-days or, as in the case of the so-called "Haffner" Serenade K250, for local weddings.



Engraving of the Archabbey of St. Peter, Salzburg by Franz Xaver Kinnig, 1769. Original: Salzburg Museum

Aside from the court, Salzburg was home to several important religious institutions closely tied to, but still independent of, the state church establishment. Foremost among them was the Archabbey of St Peter's, where the music chapel consisted largely of students; only a few musicians at the abbey were professionals, among them the *chori figuralis inspector*, who was responsible for the music archive. Nevertheless, St Peter's offered the court musicians numerous opportunities for both performance and composition. In 1753, Leopold Mozart composed an *applausus*[13] to celebrate the anniversary of the ordination of three fathers and some years later, in 1769, Wolfgang wrote the Mass K66 for Cajetan Hagenauer, son of the Mozarts' landlord Johann Lorenz Hagenauer. Cajetan, who took the name Dominicus, was also the dedicatee of two of Michael Haydn's works, the *Missa S. Dominici* and a *Te Deum*, both composed to celebrate his election as abbot of St Peter's in 1786.

In addition to St Peter's, Salzburg also boasted the important convent Nonnberg, founded by St Rupert *c.*712–14. Although strict cloistering was in effect from the late 1500s — access to the church and other external areas was walled off — some court musicians were excepted: Franz Ignaz Lipp, a contemporary of Leopold Mozart, was music teacher there, and the court music copyist Maximilian Raab was cantor. The court music frequently appeared at Nonnberg for special occasions, such as the election of a new Abbess: when M. Scholastika, Gräfin von Wicka, was elected in 1766, the Archbishop celebrated her installation with a grand feast at which the court music played instrumental works and performed a cantata by Michael Haydn (*Rebekka als Braut*). For the most part, however, the nuns performed themselves, not only at Mass, but also the fanfares traditionally given on festive occasions or to welcome guests. Perhaps the chief

[13] A celebratory cantata commonly performed at eighteenth-century Austrian monasteries.

musical distinction of Nonnberg and other local churches was the performance of German sacred songs. Such works were composed and printed in Salzburg as early as the first decade of the eighteenth century, including the anonymous *Dreyssig Geistliche Lieder* (Hallein, 1710) and Gotthard Wagner's *Cygnus Marianus, Das ist: Marianischer Schwane* (Hallein, 1710). These songs, frequently performed instead of an offertory, continued to be written throughout the century, some of them by Salzburg's most important composers, including Eberlin and Leopold Mozart. More importantly, the cultivation at Nonnberg of German sacred songs provided opportunities for women composers, since aside from singing at court, women in Salzburg had little opportunity to shine musically, no matter how exceptional they may have been.

Numerous religious institutions near Salzburg also maintained close contact with the court and other musical establishments within the city. These included the Benedictine monastery at Michaelbeuern, four of whose abbots were rectors at the Salzburg University and some of whose musicians, among them Andreas Brunmayer, studied in Salzburg and remained there as part of the court music; and the Benedictine monastery at Lambach, which purchased music and musical instruments from Salzburg and maintained close ties with the Salzburg court and the Salzburg court musicians: both Michael Haydn and Leopold Mozart were welcome guests at Lambach. Other institutions allied with Salzburg included Tittmoning (up the Salzach, on what is now the border with Bavaria), Landshut, Frauenwörth, Wasserburg am Inn and Beuerberg. All of these institutions relied heavily on the city for both music and musicians.

Carl Schneeweis, Military Parade on the Residenzplatz, Salzburg, 1776. Original: Salzburg Museum

Finally, civic music-making played an important part in Salzburg's musical life. Watchmen blew fanfares from the tower of the town hall and were sometimes leased out to play for weddings, while military bands provided marches for the city garrisons. Often there was a close connection with the court: it was the watchmen, not the court music, that played trombones in the cathedral during service. And private citizens, including court musicians off duty, were active musically as well. Concerts to celebrate name-days and serenades to celebrate weddings were common, as was domestic music-making generally.

In a letter of 12 April 1778, Leopold Mozart wrote: "on evenings when there is no grand concert, he [the soprano Francesco Ceccarelli] comes over with an aria and a motet, I play the violin and Nannerl accompanies, playing the solos for viola or for wind instruments. Then we play keyboard concertos or a violin trio, with Ceccarelli taking the second violin." In the same letter, Leopold reports to Mozart that the local nobility has started up a private orchestra:

> Count Czernin is not content with fiddling at Court and as he would like to do some conducting, he has collected an amateur orchestra who are to meet in Count Lodron's hall every Sunday after three o'clock … A week ago today, on the 5th, we had our first music meeting … Nannerl accompanied all the symphonies and she also accompanied Ceccarelli who sang an aria *per l'appertura della accademia di dilettanti*. After the symphony Count Czernin played a beautifully written concerto by Sirmen alla Brunetti, and *doppo una altra sinfonia* Count Altham played a frightful trio, no one being able to say whether it was scraped or fiddled, whether it was in 3/4 or common time, or perhaps even in some newly invented and hitherto unknown tempo. Nannerl was to have played a concerto, but as the Countess wouldn't let them have her good harpsichord (which is *casus reservatus pro summo Pontifice*), and as only the Egedacher one with gilt legs was there, she didn't perform. In the end the two Lodron girls had to play. It had never been suggested beforehand that they should do so. But since I have been teaching them they are always quite well able to perform. So on this occasion too they both did me credit.

Little is known about Mozart's day-to-day life in Salzburg, especially during the years immediately following his return from the third Italian trip. Hieronymus Colloredo had been elected prince-archbishop of Salzburg on 14 March 1772 — Mozart's *Il sogno di Scipione* was probably performed as part of the celebrations for his accession — and on 21 August 1772 Wolfgang was appointed paid third concertmaster in the Salzburg court music. Financially, the family prospered: in late 1773 they moved from their apartment in the Getreidegasse, where they had rented from the Hagenauers, to a larger one, the so-called Tanzmeisterhaus in the Hannibalplatz (now the Makartplatz). But even before their move, in July 1773, Leopold had taken Wolfgang to Vienna, where there were rumours of a possible opening at the imperial court. Nothing came of this, but the trip, which lasted four months, was a productive one: Mozart composed the Serenade K185, probably intended for the Salzburg university graduation of a family friend, Judas Thaddäus von Antretter, and six quartets K168–173, possibly in reaction to Haydn's latest quartets, opp.9, 17 and 20, and the prevailing fashion for quartets in Vienna at the time, especially those with a *Sturm und Drang* element and more elaborate contrapuntal writing than had been usual up to that time.

Quartets were not much cultivated in Salzburg, but other kinds of works were and Mozart composed prolifically during the years 1772–74 in genres that were either popular or required locally: the Masses K167, K192 and K194; the Litanies K125 and K195 together with the the *Regina coeli* K127; and more than a dozen

The Makartplatz, Salzburg. Lithograph, 1838, from Georg Pezolt: *Die interessantesten Punkte von Salzburg, Tyrol und Salzkammergut*. II. Jg. The curved doorway at the lower right is the street entrance to the Tanzmeisterhaus.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

symphonies (K124, K128, K129, K130, K132, K133, K134, K161+163, K162, K181, K182, K183, K184, K199, K200, K201 and K202) as well as the Keyboard Concerto K175, the Concertone for two solo violins K190, the Serenade K203, the Divertimentos K131, K166 and K205 and the String Quintet K174. He may also have composed an organ concerto: according to a contemporaneous account from 1774 of the celebrations surrounding the one-hundredth anniversary of the pilgrimage church Maria Plain, just outside Salzburg:

> Today there was particularly beautiful and agreeable music for the High Mass at Maria Plain; primarily because it was produced almost exclusively by the princely court musicians, and especially by the older and younger, both famous, Mozarts. The young Herr Mozart played an organ and a violin concerto, to everyone's amazement and astonishment.[14]

Later that year, in December, he travelled to Munich for the composition and premiere (on 13 January 1775) of his *opera buffa La finta giardiniera* and probably composed the six keyboard sonatas K279–284. The following April he wrote the serenata *Il re pastore* K208 for the visit to Salzburg of Archduke Maximilian Franz on 23 April.

With some exceptions — among them the Keyboard Concertos K242 and K246, written for the Lodron and Lützow families respectively, and the "Haffner" Serenade K250 — it is not entirely clear for whom

[14] It is possible that the organ concerto was K175, since its compass is suitable for that instrument and it may not have been composed for piano in the first instance (Mozart's later performances of it as a piano concerto notwithstanding). The violin concerto may have been K207 (previously thought to date from 1775 but now considered to be from 1773).

Consecration of the Maria Plain pilgrimage basilica, 1674. Copper engraving by Melchior Küsel
Original: Salzburg Museum.

Mozart composed much of his instrumental music or when it was performed. Almost certainly, though, much of it was written for family and friends, for dances or for special occasions such as weddings and name-days, as several entries from the diary of the family friend Johann Baptist Joseph Joachim Ferdinand von Schiedenhofen show:

> 19 February 1776: In the evening I again went to the ball, where there were 320 masqueraders. I went at first as a Tyrolean girl. Among the curiosities was an operetta by Mozart, and a peasant's wedding. I remained until 4.30 and dancing continued until 5.30.
>
> 18 June 1776: After dinner to the music composed by Mozart for Countess Ernst Lodron.
>
> 7 July 1776: We went together to the music-making at Frau von Antretter's. Thence I went home in the company of the Mozarts.
>
> 21 July 1776: After dinner I went to the bridal music which young Herr Haffner had made for his sister Liserl. It was by Mozart and was performed in the summer house at Loretto.
>
> 22 August 1776: I went … for a walk with Carl Agliardi and others, and there was also music at Mozart's.[15]

[15] Not all of the works mentioned by Schiedenhofen can be identified with certainty: the operetta mentioned under the date 19 February appears to be lost (the "peasant's wedding" was perhaps Leopold Mozart's *Die Bauernhochzeit* of 1755) and the music for Countess Lodron may be the Divertimento K247. The bridal music for Haffner was the Serenade K250.

Mozart continued to compose prolifically during the period 1775–77: his works from that time include the Masses K220, K257–259, K262 and K275, the Litany K243 and the Offertory K277, the Violin Concertos K211, K216, K218 and K219, the Keyboard Concertos K238, K242, K246 and K271, the Serenades K204 and K250 and numerous divertimentos, among them K188, K240, K247 and K252 — but his rejection of court musical life was transparent. Not only does his instrumental music appear largely to have been written for family and friends, but his output of church music, while significant in quality, was meagre compared to that of his colleague Michael Haydn. The root cause of the Mozarts' dissatisfaction in Salzburg remains unclear, even if Leopold Mozart's letters document his frustrating inability to find suitable positions for both of them. And he was annoyed that Italian musicians at court, chiefly the Kapellmeisters and singers, were better paid, and more favoured, than local talent. (Even before Colloredo's reign, Leopold had lamented the power and influence of Italian musicians throughout Germany: in 1763 he attributed his failure to secure an audience with Duke Carl Eugen of Württemberg to the intrigues of his Kapellmeister Jommelli, and in 1764 he wrote to Hagenauer from Paris, "If I had *one single wish* that I could see fulfilled in the course of time, it would be to see Salzburg become a court which made a tremendous sensation in Germany with its own local people.") And while some changes introduced by Colloredo after his election — including educational reforms and the establishment of a public theatre in the Hannibalplatz for both spoken drama and opera — favoured cultural life in the city by attracting prominent writers and scientists, others eliminated some traditional opportunities for music-making both at court and at the cathedral. The university theatre, where school dramas had been performed regularly since the seventeenth century, was closed in 1778, the Mass was generally shortened, and restrictions were placed on the performance of purely instrumental music as well as some instrumentally accompanied sacred vocal music at the cathedral and other churches. Concerts at court were curtailed. On 17 September 1778 Leopold wrote to Wolfgang:

> Yesterday I was for the first time [this season] the director of the great concert at court. At present the music ends at around 8.15. Yesterday it began around 7 and, as I left, 8.15 struck — thus an hour and a quarter. Generally only four pieces are done: a symphony, an aria, a symphony or concerto, then an aria and with this, addio!

Two years earlier, in 1776, Leopold had written to Padre Martini in Bologna (the letter is signed by Wolfgang but was composed and written by Leopold):

> The veneration, esteem and respect that I bear towards your most distinguished person have impelled me to importune you with the present letter and to send you a feeble piece of my music, which I submit to your magisterial judgement. For last year's carnival in Munich in Bavaria, I wrote an *opera buffa*, *La finta giardiniera*. A few days before I left, His Excellency the Elector asked to hear some of my contrapuntal music: and so I was obliged to write this motet in some haste in order to leave time to have the score copied for His Highness and the parts to be extracted from it so that it could be performed the following Sunday during the offertory at High Mass. Dearest and most esteemed Sgr Padre Maestro! You are fervently entreated to tell me frankly and without reserve what you think of it. We live in this world in order that we may always learn industriously, and by means of rational discussion enlighten each other and strive to promote the sciences and the fine arts. Oh, how many times I have longed to be nearer you in order to speak to you, Most Reverend Father, and discuss these matters with you. I live in a country where music suffers a most wretched fate, even though, apart from those who have left us, we still have some excellent teachers and, in particular, composers of great knowledge, wisdom and taste. As for the theatre, we are in a bad way as a result of the lack of singers. We have no musici, and we shall not get them so easily because they want to be well paid: and generosity is not one of our failings. Meanwhile I am amusing myself by writing for the chamber and the church: and we have two of the finest contrapuntalists here, namely, Sgr Haydn and Sgr Adlgasser. My father is in charge of music at the cathedral, which gives me an opportunity to write music for the church whenever I want to. My father has been in the service of this court for 36 years and, knowing that the present Archbishop is neither able nor willing to tolerate people of an advanced age, he no longer puts his whole heart into it but has taken an interest in literature, which was always his favourite study. Our church music is very different from that in Italy in that a complete Mass, including the *Kyrie, Gloria, Credo, Epistle sonata, Offertory or motet, Sanctus and Agnus Dei* — and even the most solemn Mass said by the Prince himself — must not last longer than 3 quarters of an hour. A special study of this kind of composition is necessary. And yet such a Mass must have all the instruments — trombe di guerra, timpani etc. Oh, if only we were less far apart, my dearest Sgr Padre Maestro! How many things I'd have to tell you! — — Please give my humble good wishes to the Signori Filarmonici: I commend myself to you and never cease to grieve that I am so remote from the one person in the world whom I love, revere and esteem more than any other.

The Mozarts' grievances notwithstanding, there is no compelling evidence that Colloredo mistreated the Mozarts, at least early in his reign. Wolfgang's *Il sogno di Scipione* had been performed as part of the festivities surrounding Colloredo's enthronement; he had been formally taken into paid employment at court; Leopold continued to run the court music on a periodic basis and was entrusted with hiring musicians and purchasing both music and musical instruments; and father and son had been allowed to travel to Italy, Vienna and Munich.

Nevertheless, matters came to a head in the summer of 1777, and in August Mozart wrote a petition asking the archbishop for release from his employment:

> Your Serene Highness
> most worthy Prince of the Holy Roman Empire,
> most gracious Ruler
> and Lord!
>
> I have no need to importune Your Serene Highness with a circumstantial description of our sad situation: my father, in all honour and conscience, and with every ground of truth, has declared this in a petition

most submissively placed before Your Serene Highness on 14 March last.[16] Since however Your Highness's favourable decision did not ensue, as we had hoped, my father would have submissively begged Your Serene Highness as early as June graciously to allow us a journey of several months, in order somewhat to rehabilitate us, had not Your Highness been pleased to command that all members of his Music hold themselves in readiness for the impending visit of His Majesty the Emperor. My father again humbly asked for this permission later; but Your Serene Highness refused him this and graciously observed that I, being in any case only on part-time service, might travel alone. Our circumstances are pressing: my father decided to send me off by myself. But to this too Your Serene Highness made some gracious objections. Most gracious Sovereign Prince and Lord! Parents takes pains to enable their children to earn their own bread, and this they owe both to their own interest and to that of the state. The more talent children have received from God, the greater is the obligation to make use thereof, in order to ameliorate their own and their parents' circumstances, to assist their parents, and to take care of their own advancement and future. To profit from our talents is taught us by the Gospel. I therefore owe it before God and in my conscience to my father, who indefatigably employs all his time in my upbringing, to be grateful to him with all my strength, to lighten his burden, and to take care not only of myself, but of my sister also, with whom I should be bound to commiserate for spending so many hours at the harpsichord without being able to make profitable use of it.

May Your Serene Highness graciously permit me, therefore, to beg most submissively to be released from service, as I am obliged to make the best use of the coming September, so as not to be exposed to the bad weather of the ensuing cold months. Your Serene Highness will not take this most submissive request amiss, since already three years ago, when I begged for permission to travel to Vienna, Your Highness was graciously pleased to declare that I had nothing to hope for and would do better to seek my fortune elsewhere. I thank Your Serene Highness in the profoundest devotion for all high favours received, and with the most flattering hope that I may serve Your Serene Highness with greater success in the years of my manhood, I commend myself to your continuing grace and favour as

Your Serene Highness's
my most gracious Sovereign Prince
and Lord's
most humble and obedient
Wolfgang Amad Mozart.

In what can only be described as spitefulness — and at the same time at least some evidence of the archbishop's part in the breakdown of Mozart's relationship with Salzburg — Colloredo dismissed both father and son. Leopold, however, felt he could not afford to leave Salzburg and so Mozart set out with his mother on 23 September. The purpose of the trip was for Mozart to secure well-paid employment,

[16] Leopold Mozart's petition is lost.

Left: Prince-archbishop Hieronymus Joseph Franz de Paula Count Colloredo (1732/1772-1812).
Anonymous oil painting, 2nd half of the 18th century.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

Right: Prince-archbishop Sigismund Christoph Count Schrattenbach (1698/1753-1771).
Anonymous Pastel, 2nd half of the 18th century.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

preferably at Mannheim, which Leopold described in a letter of 13 November 1777 as "that famous court, whose rays, like those of the sun, illuminate the whole of Germany".

Mozart called first at Munich, where he offered his services to the elector but met with a polite refusal. In Augsburg he embarked on a relationship with his cousin, Maria Anna Thekla (the "Bäsle"), with whom he later engaged in a scatological correspondence, and gave a concert including several of his recent works that was reviewed in the *Augsburgische Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung* for 28 October 1777:

The evening of Wednesday last was one of the most agreeable for music lovers. Herr Chevalier Mozart, a son of the famous Salzburg musician, who is a native of Augsburg, gave a concert on the fortepiano in the hall of Count Fugger. As Herr Stein happened to have three instruments of the kind ready, there was an opportunity to include a fine concerto for three fortepianos, in which Herr Demler, the cathedral organist, and Herr Stein himself played the other two keyboard parts. Apart from this the Chevalier played a sonata and a fugued fantasy without accompaniment, and a concerto with one, and the opening and closing symphonies were of his composition as well. Everything was extraordinary, tasteful and admirable. The composition is thorough, fiery, manifold and simple; the harmony so full, so strong, so unexpected, so elevating; the melody, so agreeable, so playful, and everything so new; the rendering on the fortepiano so neat, so clean, so full of expression, and yet at the same time extraordinarily rapid, so that one hardly knew what to give attention to

first, and all the hearers were enraptured. One found here mastery in the thought, mastery in the performance, mastery in the instruments, all at the same time. One thing always gave relief to another, so that the numerous assembly was displeased with nothing but the fact that pleasure was not prolonged still further. Those patriotically minded had the especial satisfaction of concluding from the stillness and the general applause of the listeners that we know here how to appreciate true beauty — to hear a virtuoso who may place himself side by side with the great masters of our nation, and yet is at least half our own…

Anonymous, Aloysia Weber, second half of the eighteenth century. Original: Stiftung Mozarteum
Original: Salzburger Landesarchiv.

From Augsburg Mozart and his mother moved on to Mannheim, where they remained until the middle of March 1778. Wolfgang became friendly with the concert master Christian Cannabich, the Kapellmeister Ignaz Holzbauer and the flautist Johann Baptist Wendling, and he recommended himself to the elector but without success. Ferdinand Dejean, an employee of the Dutch East India company, asked him to compose three flute concertos and two flute quartets. Mozart failed to fulfil the commission and may have written only a single quartet (K285). But he was not compositionally idle: his works from Mannheim include the Piano Sonatas K309 and K311, five accompanied sonatas (K296, K301–303 and K305), and two arias, *Alcandro lo confesso … Non sò d'onde viene* K294, composed for Aloysia Lange, the daughter of the Mannheim copyist Fridolin Weber, and *Se al labbro mio non credi … Il cor dolente* K295. Mozart was in love with Aloysia and wrote to Leopold of his idea to take her to Italy to become a *prima donna*, but this proposal infuriated his father, who accused him of irresponsibility and family disloyalty.[10 ??]

Mozart and his mother arrived at Paris on 23 March 1778. There he composed additional music, mainly choruses (now lost) for a performance of a *Miserere* by Holzbauer and, according to his letters home, a sinfonia concertante, K297B, for flute, oboe, bassoon and horn; both works are lost. He had a symphony, K297, performed at the Concert Spirituel on 18 June (for a later performance Mozart rewrote the slow movement) and wrote part of a ballet, *Les Petits Riens*, for the ballet master Jean-Georges Noverre, that was given with Niccolò Piccinni's opera *Le finte gemelle*. But Mozart was unhappy in Paris. He claimed to have been offered, but to have refused, the post of organist at Versailles, and his letter of 1 May, concerning the unperformed sinfonia concertante, makes it clear that, justified or not, he suspected malicious intrigues against him:

> There's another snag with the sinfonia concertante … and [I think] that I again have my enemies here. Where haven't I had them? — But it's a good sign. I had to write the sinfonia in the greatest haste but I worked very hard, and the 4 soloists were and still are head over heels in love with it. Legros kept it for 4 days in order to have it copied, but I always found it lying in the same place. Finally — the day before yesterday — I couldn't find it but had a good look among the music and found it hidden away. I feigned ignorance and asked Legros: By the way, have you already given the sinf. concertante to the copyist? — No — I forgot. I can't, of course, order him to have it copied and performed, so I said nothing. I went to the concert on the 2 days when it should have been played. Ramm and Punto came over to me, snorting with rage, and asked why my sinfonia concert. wasn't being given. — I don't know. That's the first I've heard about it. No one ever tells me anything. Ramm flew into a rage and cursed Legros in the green room in French, saying that it wasn't nice of him *etc*. What annoys me most of all about the whole affair is that Legros never said a word to me about it, I wasn't allowed to know what was going on — if he'd offered me some excuse, saying that there wasn't enough time or something similar, but to say nothing at all — but I think that Cambini, one of the Italian maestri here, is the cause because in all innocence I made him look foolish in Legros's eyes at our first meeting.[17]

Mozart's mother fell ill about mid-June and, despite attempts to secure proper medical treatment, died on 3 July. Wolfgang took up residence with Grimm, the family's patron from their two earlier stays in Paris, and on 3 September Leopold wrote to Wolfgang to inform him that following the death of Anton Cajetan Adlgasser, a post was open to him in Salzburg as court organist with accompanying duties rather than as a violinist; Colloredo had offered Mozart an increase in salary and generous leave. Mozart set out on 26 September and travelling circuitously by way of Nancy, Strasbourg and Mannheim (where he was received coolly by Aloysia Weber, who was now singing in the court opera), he arrived home in the third week of January 1779. His new duties in Salzburg included playing in the cathedral and at court, and instructing the choirboys. He composed the "Coronation" Mass K317, the Missa solemnis K337, two vespers settings K321 and K339 and the *Regina coeli* K276 as well as several instrumental works,

[17] The singer and composer Joseph Legros (1739–1793) was director of the Paris Concert Spirituel from 1777. Friedrich Ramm (1744–1813) was principal oboist in the orchestra of Karl Theodor, Elector Palatine and Elector of Bavaria; in addition to the Sinfonia concertante K297B, Mozart also composed the Oboe Quartet K370 for Ramm.

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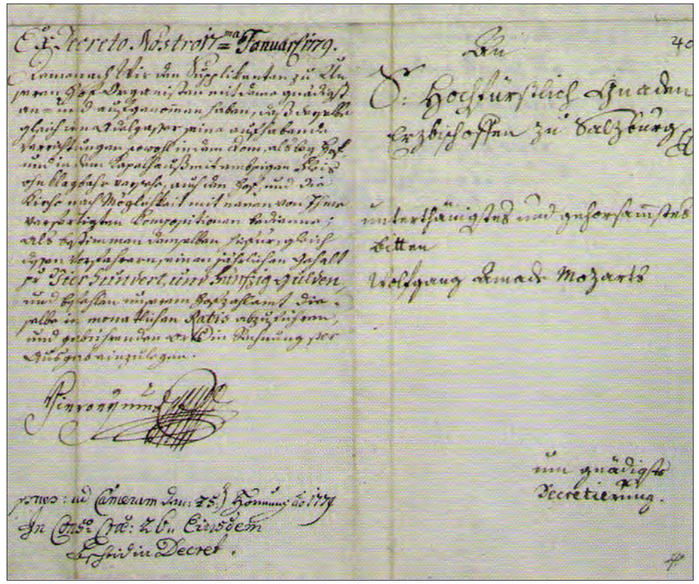
including the Concerto for two pianos K365, the Sonata for piano and violin K378, three symphonies (K318, K319 and K338), the "Posthorn" Serenade K320, a Sinfonia concertante for violin and viola K364, and incidental music for *Thamos, König in Ägypten* and *Zaide*.

In the summer of 1780, Mozart received a commission to compose a serious opera for Munich and engaged the Salzburg cleric Giovanni Battista Varesco to prepare a libretto based on Antoine Danchet's *Idoménée* of 1712. Since he already knew several of the singers from Mannheim, he began to set the text in Salzburg and left for Munich only in early November. The opera was given on 29 January 1781 to considerable success, and both Leopold and Mozart's sister, Nannerl, who had travelled from Salzburg, were in attendance. The family remained in Munich until mid-March, during which time Mozart also composed the recitative and aria *Misera! dove son … Ah! non son io che parlo* K369 and the Oboe Quartet K370. The three piano sonatas K330–332 may also date from this time, or from a few months later.



Mozart's appointment as court organist, 17 January 1779
Original: Salzburger Landesarchiv

Mozart's music of the early 1770s, and in particular works composed up to about 1776, show the lingering influence of his three trips to Italy, not only in *La finta giardiniera* and *Il re pastore*, but in his church and instrumental music as well. The Litany K243 includes expressive, opera-like arias with florid ornamentation, while the Symphonies K181 and K184 are in three movements, without a break, on the pattern of the Italian overture. The Symphony K201 of April 1774 is full of southern grace while at the same time demonstrating the German penchant for imitative textures.

This interest in counterpoint was stimulated not only by Mozart's Italian studies but also by his visit to Vienna in 1773, where he composed the six string quartets K168–173. An altogether more serious approach is evident in these works, and counterpoint is found not only in development sections, but statements of thematic material as well; the finales to both K168 and K173 are fugal. By the same token, Mozart's first original keyboard concerto, K175, exploits counterpoint in ways not previously found in his orchestral music, in particular the finale, which starts with an imitative gesture that returns in various guises throughout the movement. Symphony K184, though Italianate in overall form, includes a Germanic slow movement with a main theme built on imitation, and the finale of Symphony K201 is a canonic tour de force. These works also include something of the stormy Viennese style, in particular the G minor Symphony K183, a style that is carried over into the serenades of the mid-1770s, K185, K203, K204 and K250 in particular, which frequently touch on a range of affects beyond those of this typically relaxed genre. It was the serenade, in any case, that by 1775 had gained the upper hand in Mozart's orchestral output: redactions of serenades as symphonies notwithstanding, there are no original Salzburg symphonies from between 1774 and 1779.

The church music composed by Mozart during this period mostly — though not exclusively — conforms to Salzburg traditions. Like Michael Haydn's *Missa S. Joannis Nepomuceni* of 1772, Mozart's K167 lacks soloists. And in K275, the distribution of solo and tutti, as well as the contrapuntal endings to the Gloria and Credo and the solo at the Benedictus, are reminiscent of both Eberlin and Leopold Mozart. Colloredo's church reforms, described by Mozart in his letter to Padre Martini, inform the brevity and style of K192 and K194, both of which include a minimum of word repetition, simple choral declamation, and unbroken settings of the Gloria and Credo texts, without extended final fugues. Similar economies are found in K257, K258 and K259. Not all church music composed in Salzburg at this time was subject to Colloredo's reforms, however. K262 is a long and elaborate work that includes extended fugues, contrapuntal writing in the Kyrie and "Et incarnatus", and extended orchestral ritornellos.

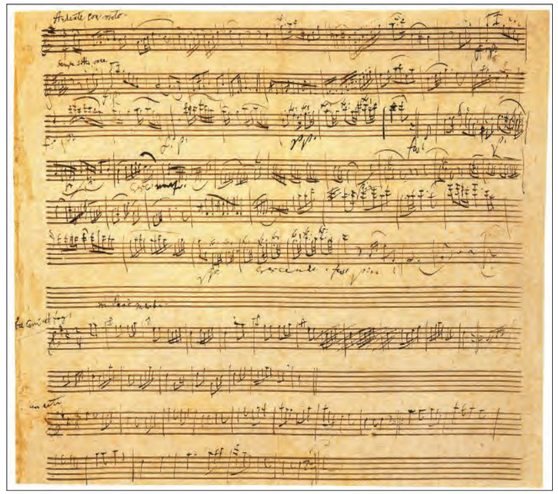
If the church music often relies on Salzburg models, the symphonies, serenades and concertos of the 1770s differ from other orchestral music composed there in their imaginative scoring, formal variety and diverse characters — K181, K183, K184 and K201 are typical. So too is the Concerto K271 from January 1777, which in its scale, mastery of design and virtuosity far exceeds his earlier orchestral music. The entry of the piano as early as the third bar of the first movement is unprecedented, and the recitative sections of the the C minor Andantino plumb new depths of expression. Some parallels can be found in the violin concertos of 1775, K216, K218 and K219, the first two of which also have finales in a variety

of tempos and metres, while in K219 the soloist is introduced in the first movement by a poetic Adagio episode (the finale is notable for its Turkish episode).

In many ways, K271 represents a new, more elaborate style that was to become Mozart's norm in the late 1770s. And whether as a result of local influences, or merely a desire to tailor his works to specific performers and audiences, his music from late 1777 and 1778 often recalls local styles. Nannerl Mozart remarked of the Piano Sonata K309, written for Chistian Cannabich's daughter Rosina, that "anyone could see it was composed in Mannheim" while Leopold, more insightfully perhaps, wrote that it had "something of the mannered Mannheim style about it, but so little that your own good style is not spoiled" [letters of 8 and 11 December 1777]. The A minor Sonata K310, on the other hand, belongs to a tradition of fiery keyboard writing that Schobert and others cultivated in Paris, even if the three-part Andante cantabile, with its fraught outburst in the central section, is without precedent. The six sonatas for keyboard and violin that Mozart composed mainly in Mannheim but published in Paris, K301–306, take over some features from the accompanied divertimentos of Joseph Schuster that Mozart mentions in a letter to his father of 6 October 1777 ("I'm sending my sister six duets for keyboard and violin by Schuster, which I have often played here. They're not bad. If I stay on I shall write six myself in the same style as they are very popular here.") The sonatas exhibit a variety of styles and affects, ranging from the eerie E minor Sonata K304 to the quasi-orchestral K302; K303 incorporates the Schuster-like gesture of having the Adagio introduction represent the first subject.

Perhaps the most important orchestral work composed at this time was the "Paris" Symphony K297, which — as Mozart described to his father in letters of 12 June and 3 July 1778 — not only incorporated expected Parisian orchestral gestures, but also a certain degree of ironic play with local expectations:

> [12 June:] I can answer for it pleasing the few intelligent French people who may be there — and as for the stupid ones, I shall not consider it a great misfortune if they are not pleased. I still hope, however, that even asses will find something in it to admire and, moreover, I have been careful not to neglect *le premier coup d'archet* and that is quite sufficient. What a fuss the oxen here make of this trick. The devil take me if I can see any difference! They all begin together, just as they do in other places. It really is too much of a joke…
>
> [3 July:] I'd heard that all final Allegros and opening ones too begin here with all the instruments playing together and generally in unison, so I began mine [here Mozart means the third movement] with 2 violins only, playing *piano* for 8 whole bars, followed at once by a *forte* — the audience, as I expected, went "shush" at the *piano* — then came the *forte* — and as soon as they heard it, they started to clap…



Original: Kloster Einsiedeln library, Switzerland

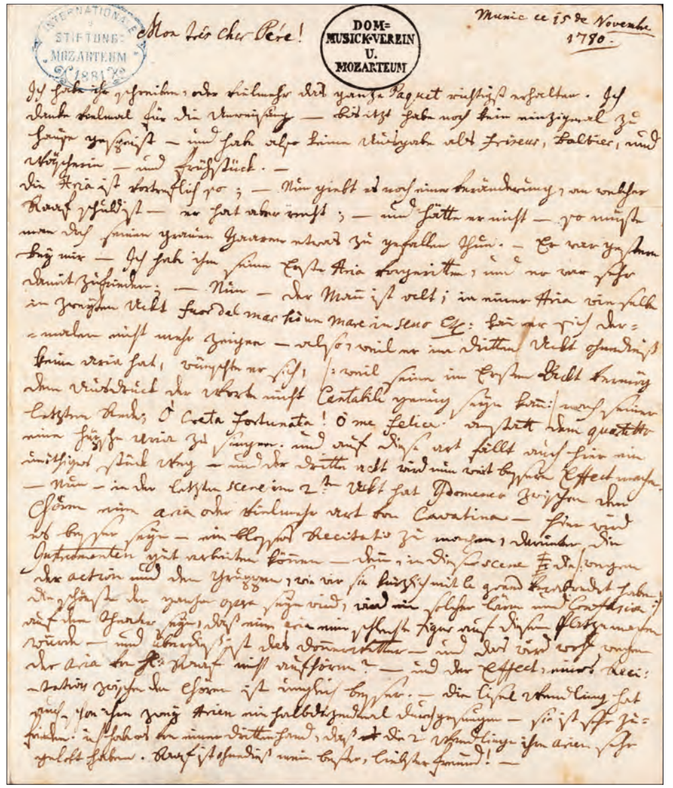
Many of the styles and techniques that Mozart learned or exploited in Mannheim and Paris remained with him after his return to Salzburg in 1779. This is less true of his church music, perhaps, than of his other works, although the Credo of the "Coronation" Mass K317 has a symphonic thrust different from his earlier Masses and the breaking off of the text by an Adagio "Et incarnatus" is similar to the self-conscious exploitation of musical and affective disruption in his instrumental music. Mozart recalls the striking formal gesture of K303 in the "Posthorn" Serenade K320, where the opening introduction reappears at the start of the recapitulation, rewritten in the prevailing tempo. The Symphony K318 is entirely novel in its formal outlines, incorporating an Andante after the development section and then returning to the second subject before only partly restating the first. Both K320 and the magnificent Sinfonia concertante K364 make use of Mannheim-style crescendos. The Andante of K364 in particular is a high point in Mozart's orchestral style of the later 1770s: its rich orchestral textures, with divided violas, verge on the extravagant, while the unwillingness of the soloists to cadence, forcing each other to higher tessituras, gives the movement an almost ecstatic character not dissimilar from the Adagio non troppo of the G minor String Quintet K516, where a similar effect is achieved through the unexpected shifts from minor to major.

Idomeneo marks the end of this development: it is without question the most complex and opulent work composed by Mozart before his move to Vienna in 1781. Although nominally an *opera seria*, *Idomeneo* departs substantially from that tradition. It is more natural in its expression of emotion, but more complex

in structure, with a greater emphasis on the chorus, and its scoring for the virtuoso Mannheim orchestra — now relocated to Munich[18] — is exceptionally full and elaborate. Letters from Mozart to his father show how Wolfgang shaped the libretto, accommodated his singers and made compositional decisions:

> [8 November 1780:] I've a request to make of the Abbate [Varesco, who adapted the libretto]; — Ilia's aria in the second scene of Act Two I'd like to change a little to bring it into line with what I need — se il padre perdei in te lo ritrovo: this line couldn't be better — but then comes something that has always struck me as unnatural — I mean in an aria — namely, *an aside*. In a dialogue these things are entirely natural — a few words are hurriedly spoken as an aside — but in an aria, where the words have to be repeated, it creates a bad impression — and even if this weren't the case, I'd still prefer an aria here — if he's happy with it, the opening can stay as it is, as it's delightful — an aria that flows along in an entirely natural way — where I'm not so tied to the words but can just continue to let the music flow, as we've agreed to include an Andantino aria here with 4 concertante wind instruments, namely, flute, oboe, horn and bassoon.
>
> [15 November 1780:] The aria ["Se il padre perdei"] is excellent as it is; — but there's now a further change, for which Raaff is to blame — but he's right; — and even if he weren't, one would still have to do something to acknowledge his grey hairs. — He was here yesterday — I ran through his first aria ["Vedrommi intorno"] with him and he was very pleased with it; — well — the man is old; in an aria like the one in the second act, fuor del mar ho un mare in seno etc., he can no longer show off his abilities — and so, because he has no aria in the third act and because his aria in the first act can't be cantabile enough for him as a result of the expression of the words, he wanted to replace the quartet with a nice aria following his final speech: O Creta fortunata! o me felice. In this way another useless number will be cut here — and the third act will now be far more effective. — Now — in the final scene of Act Two — Idomeneo has an aria or, rather, a kind of cavatina between the choruses — it'll be better to have just a recitative here ["Eccoti in me, barbaro nume! il reo"], with the instruments working hard beneath it — for in this scene, which — because of the action and the grouping, which we've recently agreed on with Le Grand — will be the finest in the whole opera, there'll be so much noise and confusion on stage that an aria would cut a poor figure — also, there's the thunderstorm, which I don't suppose will stop for Herr Raaff's aria, will it? — And the effect of a recitative between the choruses is incomparably better.

[18] As part of the court of Karl Theodor (1724–1799), Elector Palatine, who in 1777 succeeded Maximilian III Joseph as Elector of Bavaria.



W.A. Mozart to L. Mozart, 15 November 1780. Original: Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg

Two striking features of the opera are its abundance of orchestral recitative, reflecting the sense of the words, and its use of recurrent motifs. Certain phrases recur throughout the opera, consistently referring to individual characters and their emotions, including Ilia's grief, Electra's jealousy and Idamantes' feelings about the sacrifice. The use of tonality is also unconventional: the recapitulation in Electra's D minor first aria, "Tutte nel cor vi sento", for example, reaches C minor, before returning to the home key and then seamlessly modulating back to C minor for the tempest. The opera's orchestration includes numerous imaginative touches, among them the evocative flute, oboe and violin passages in "Fuor del mar" and the sustained winds against string triplets and muted trumpets in "O voto tremendo".

Anna Maria Mozart (1720-1778). Oil painting by Rosa Hagenauer-Barducci, before 1775. Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

The sometimes recriminatory letters between father and son that followed the death of Anna Maria Mozart in Paris on 3 July 1778 — Leopold accused Mozart of lying and improper attention his mother — are generally taken to represent the first and most compelling evidence of an irreparable family rupture that had its roots in Leopold's alleged exploitation of Wolfgang as a child both for profit and for his own self-aggrandisement. There is no evidence, however, that anyone at the time thought Leopold to be less than a loving, intelligent parent whose only fault, perhaps, was to overindulge Wolfgang. Johann Adam Hiller wrote in his *Wöchentliche Nachrichten und Anmerkungen die Musik betreffend*, published at Leipzig on 25 November 1766, "Such precocious virtuosi certainly do much honour to their father, since they have attained to all this through his instruction; and since he knew how to discover easy ways and means of making a matter comprehensible and easy for children which at times is not readily grasped by older and adult persons…" while the composer Johann Adolph Hasse wrote to the Venetian composer and philosopher Giovanni Maria Ortes on 30 September 1769, "The said Mr Mozard is a very polished and civil man, and the children are very well brought up … I am sure that if his [Wolfgang's] development keeps due pace with his years, he will be a prodigy, provided that his father does not perhaps pamper him too much or spoil him by means of excessive eulogies; that is the only thing I fear." Similarly, the music historian Charles Burney, who met the family in Bologna in August 1770 while Mozart was working on *Mitridate*, noted, "[I] shall be curious to know how this extraordinary boy acquits himself in setting words in a language not his own. But there is no musical excellence I do not expect from the extraordinary quickness and talents, under the guidance of so able a musician and intelligent a man as his father…".

Certainly Leopold was sometimes given to insensitivity, even harshness. On 24 November 1777, when Mozart and his mother were in Mannheim, Leopold wrote to them:

> A journey like this is no joke, you've no experience of this sort of thing, you need to have other, more important thoughts on your mind than foolish games, you have to try to anticipate a hundred different things, otherwise you'll suddenly find yourself in the shit without any money, — — and where you've no money you'll have no friends either, even if you give a hundred lessons for nothing, and even if you write sonatas and spend every night fooling around from 10 till 12 instead of devoting yourself to more important matters. Then try asking for credit! — That'll wipe the smile off your face. I'm not blaming you for a moment for placing the Cannabichs under an obligation to you by your acts of kindness, that was well done: but you should have devoted a few of your otherwise idle hours each evening to your father, who is so concerned about you, and sent him not simply a mishmash tossed off in a hurry but a proper, confidential and detailed account of the expenses incurred on your journey, of the money you still have left, of the journey you plan to take in future and of your intentions in Mannheim etc. etc. In short, you should have sought my advice; I hope you'll be sensible enough to see this, for who has to shoulder this whole burden if not your poor old father?

On 18 December he wrote to his wife:

> As soon as you arrived in Mannheim, you should have sought the help of young Herr Danner or someone similar and looked round for a private apartment without delay. You should have done this without listening to any of the objections that others may have raised: after all, I wrote and told you this often enough; but, to our detriment, you didn't do so. You say that you wrote to inform me of Albert's bill. I received *not a word*! I saw from your letters that both of you tossed them off in a hurry late at night, when you were both half-asleep, and that as a result you wrote down only the first thing that came into your heads: in short, you yourself don't know what you wrote; and I bet you rarely read any of Wolfg.'s letters to me. My God! What prize specimens you are! —[19]

And he could be manipulative:

> [19 November 1778:] The main thing is *that you return to Salzburg now*. I don't want to know about the 40 louis d'or that you may *perhaps* be able to earn. Your whole plan seems to be to drive me to ruin, simply in order to build your castles in the air … In short, I have absolutely no intention of dying a shameful death,

[19] Christian Danner was the son of the Mannheim court violinist Johann Georg Danner; Franz Albert was an innkeeper in Augsburg.

deep in debt, on your account; still less do I intend to leave your poor sister destitute … Until now I've written to you not only as a father but as a friend; I hope that on receiving this letter you will immediately expedite your journey home and conduct yourself in such a way that I can receive you with joy and not have to greet you with reproaches. Indeed, I hope that, after your mother died so inopportunely in Paris, you'll not have it on your conscience that you contributed to your father's death, too.

But these are not the only letters that passed between father and son, or husband and wife, and they were written under trying circumstances — the first significant separation of Leopold and Wolfgang, Mozart's awkward attempts to succeed on his own, and a shared, intense dislike of Salzburg exacerbated by their failure to find employment elsewhere, all at a time when Leopold, for the first time, must have felt himself an ineffectual bystander to Wolfgang's life. Under different, less fraught circumstances — but no less telling of the relationship between them for that — Mozart and his father exchanged letters of a profoundly intimate and loving cast. On 25 September 1777, Leopold wrote to Wolfgang and Maria Anna about the day they had left for Mannheim and Paris:

My dears,

After you'd left, I came upstairs very wearily and threw myself into an armchair. I made every effort to curb my feelings when we said goodbye, in order not to make our farewell even more painful, and in my daze forgot to give my son a father's blessing. I ran to the window and called after you but couldn't see you driving out through the gates, so we thought you'd already left, as I'd been sitting for a long time, not thinking of anything. Nannerl was astonishingly tearful and it required every effort to comfort her. She complained of a headache and terrible stomach pains, finally she started to be sick, vomiting good and proper, after which she covered her head, went to bed and had the shutters closed, with poor Pimpes beside her. I went to my own room, said my morning prayers, went back to bed at half past 8, read a book, felt calmer and fell asleep. The dog came and I woke up. He made it clear that he wanted me to take him for a walk, from which I realised that it must be nearly 12 o'clock and that he wanted to be let out. I got up, found my fur and saw that Nannerl was fast asleep and, looking at the clock, saw that it was half past 12. When I got back with the dog, I woke Nannerl and sent for lunch. Nannerl had no appetite at all; she ate nothing, went back to bed after lunch and, once Herr Bullinger had left, I spent the time praying and reading in bed. By the evening Nannerl felt better and was hungry, we played piquet, then ate in my room and played a few more rounds after supper and then, in God's name, went to bed. And so this sad day came to an end, a day I never thought I'd have to endure.

And to celebrate Leopold's name-day, on 8 November 1777 Mozart wrote to his father from Mannheim:

Dearest Papa,
I can't write poetry, as I'm no poet. I can't arrange figures of speech with the artistry needed to produce light and shade; I'm no painter. I can't even express my thoughts and ideas by mime and gesture as I'm no dancer. But I can do so through sounds; I'm a musician. Tomorrow at Cannabich's I'll play a whole piece on the clavier congratulating you on your name-day and your birthday. For today I can do no more than wish you, Mon très cher Père, from the bottom of my heart all that I wish you every day, morning and night: health, a long life and a cheerful disposition. I also hope that you now have less reason to be annoyed than you did when I was still in Salzburg; for I must admit that I was the sole cause of it. They treated me badly; I didn't deserve it. You naturally took my part — – but too much. So, you see, that was the biggest and most important reason why I left Salzburg in such a hurry. I hope too that my wishes come true. I must end now with a musical congratulation. I hope that you live for as many years as it needs for nothing new to be produced any more in music. Now farewell; I beg you most humbly to go on loving me just a little and to make do with these poor congratulations until I get some new drawers made for my small and narrow brainbox in which I can keep the brains that I still intend to acquire. I kiss my father's hands 1000 times and remain until death

Mon très cher Père
Mannheim, 8 November your most obedient son
1777
Wolfgang Amadé Mozart

Mozart's letter recognises — as Hasse had already written to Ortes — that his father was prepared to defend and support him blindly and without reservation. And he recognises that he himself was responsible for at least some of the family's problems in Salzburg. Yet devotion did not blind either of them to the other's faults. Mozart wrote to his father from Mannheim on 29 November 1777, "I'm not thoughtless but am prepared for anything and as a result can wait patiently for whatever the future holds in store … But I must ask you at the outset not to rejoice or grieve prematurely." For his part, some years later, after Mozart had settled in Vienna, Leopold wrote to one of his patronesses there, Baroness Martha Elisabeth von Waldstätten:

I have detected in my son a serious failing, which is that he is far too *patient* or *sleepy*, too *easy-going*, perhaps sometimes too *proud* and whatever else you want to call all those qualities that render a person *inactive*: or else he is too *impatient*, too *hot-headed*, and can't wait. Two opposing principles rule in him — too much or too little, and no golden mean. If he's not short of something, he's immediately satisfied and becomes *lazy* and *inactive*. If he has to act, he feels his own worth and *immediately wants to make his fortune*. Nothing is then allowed to stand in his way: and yet it is unfortunately the cleverest people and those who possess real genius who find the greatest obstacles placed in their way. Who will prevent him from making his way in Vienna if only he shows a little patience? [23 August 1782]

It is ironic that each accuses the other of failing to steer a middle course, for Leopold's chief legacy to Wolfgang was not to prevent him from becoming an independent adult but, rather, to instill in him values that mirrored his own, whether an inquisitiveness about the world around him, attitudes toward authority,

or jingoistic prejudices. Wolfgang was his father's son.

When the Mozarts were in Paris in 1764, Leopold wrote to Maria Theresia Hagenauer:

> [1 February 1764:] One shouldn't always write to men but should also remember the fair and devout sex. Whether the women in Paris are fair, I can't say, and for good reason; for they are painted so unnaturally, like the dolls of Berchtesgaden, that thanks to this revolting affectation even a naturally beautiful woman becomes unbearable in the eyes of an honest German … I heard good and bad music there. Everything that was intended to be sung by single voices and to resemble an aria was empty, cold and wretched — in a word, French … the whole of French music isn't worth a sou.

For his part, Mozart wrote to his father on 5 April 1778:

> What annoys me most of all in this business is that our French gentlemen have only improved their *goût* to the extent that they can now listen to good stuff as well. But to expect them to realise that their own music is bad or at least to notice the difference — heaven preserve us!

And on 9 July 1778:

> If I'm asked to write an opera, it'll no doubt be a source of considerable annoyance, but I don't mind too much as I'm used to it — if only the confounded French language weren't such a dastardly enemy of music! — It's pitiful — German is divine in comparison. — And then there are the singers — — they simply don't deserve the name as they don't sing but scream and howl at the tops of their voices, a nasal, throaty sound.

More importantly, Mozart also took to heart his father's negative opinions about Salzburg, repeating them almost verbatim in his letters of the late 1770s and early 1780s. Writing from Schwetzingen on 19 July 1763, Leopold described the Mannheim orchestra as "undeniably the best in Germany. It consists altogether of people who are young and of good character, not drunkards, gamblers or dissolute fellows." Mozart, from Paris, wrote to his father some fifteen years later,

> [9 July 1778:] … one of my chief reasons for detesting Salzburg is the coarse, slovenly, dissolute court musicians. Why, no honest man, of good breeding, could possibly live with them! Indeed, instead of wanting to associate with them, he would feel ashamed of them… [The Mannheim musicians] certainly behave quite differently from ours. They have good manners, are well dressed and do not go to public houses and swill.

In many respects, Mozart's personality mirrored his father's: Leopold, it will be remembered, was expelled from university for insubordination, and in 1753 he was made to apologise publicly for circulating a pamphlet critical of one of the cathedral canons, Count Thurn und Taxis, and a priest named Egglstainer (the pamphlet does not survive). Despite his family's wish that he pursue a career in law, he struck out on his own as a musician. While Wolfgang was never expected to pursue a career other than music, he nevertheless insisted at numerous times in his career on following his own path — including, in the spring of 1781, his rash standing up to the archbishop in Vienna. And he could be as scathing of his colleagues as Leopold was of his university professors and fellow Salzburg musicians. Both valued personal honour highly: in the midst of his quarrels with Colloredo, Mozart wrote to his father, "Listen, my honour means more to me than anything else, and I know that it's the same with you" (in this context it is worth recalling Leopold's 1768 petition to Emperor Joseph II concerning the non-performance of *La finta semplice*: "And ultimately — and it is this that concerns me most — what of my son's honour… ?"). [9 May 1781]

Wolfgang's and Leopold's specifically musical careers were similar too, at least in broad outline: not only did Leopold move from the musically less sophisticated Augsburg to Salzburg, just as Mozart eventually left Salzburg for Vienna, but like his father before him, Mozart established his reputation in Salzburg chiefly as a composer of instrumental music — but in his case, primarily for a small circle of family and friends. This in itself did not violate local performing traditions, since there was considerable demand in the city for private music. But it did violate the expectations the court had for its musicians, even if these were not always spelled out in detail.

The primary obligation of Salzburg composers was to write works for the cathedral. And while Mozart appears to have fulfilled this obligation — his church compositions during the 1760s and 1770s amounted to some thirty works, including Masses, litanies and offertories — he was, in fact, one of the least productive of the major Salzburg composers. During those same decades, Michael Haydn, who had come to Salzburg in 1763, composed at least eleven Masses, fifteen litanies and vespers and more than ninety other sacred works. Several aspects of Mozart's church music fall in line with Salzburg traditions, including frequent word-painting, Credos with changes of tempo and fugues at "Et vitam venturi". In other respects, however, he stands outside Salzburg traditions. His sacred works are sometimes more Italian in style than those of other local composers (possibly a legacy of his contact in the early 1770s with Padre Martini in Bologna and Eugène, Marquis de Ligniville, in Florence, but also, no doubt, influenced by his father, who sometimes included Italian-opera-like *da capo* arias in his Masses of the 1750s), and the disruptive and disjunctive elements that inform his instrumental music of the Vienna period are often adumbrated in the Salzburg church music.

Instrumental music, on the other hand, appears to have been of only secondary and occasional importance, especially during Colloredo's reign. The historian Corbinian Gärtner, an observer well disposed towards the archbishop, paints a picture of a court life that left little room for entertainment, even if he does mention Colloredo's occasional violin playing: "Social gatherings began after 6 o'clock, during which [the Archbishop] often discussed business with his civic officials; otherwise he entertained foreign visitors, or played cards, or mingled with the court musicians and played the violin with them. Afterwards he had

his evening meal, said his prayers, and went to bed at about 10 o'clock."[20]

If the court itself did not particularly encourage the composition and performance of instrumental music, numerous other institutions in Salzburg, to say nothing of private citizens, did. The university not only mounted performances by the court music of serenades at its August graduation exercises, but the students themselves performed informally in the public squares: the university diary for 1769 records a performance of a *Platzmusik* in May while a similar event is documented by Nannerl Mozart's diary entry for 24 September 1779, on which occasion Mozart's "Haffner" Serenade K250 was given. The same is true of other institutions throughout the archdiocese. The estate inventory of Martin Bischofreiter, *chori figuralis inspector* at St Peter's, shows that orchestral music was a regular feature of musical life at St Peter's, while the monastery at Michaelbeuern at one time had a collection of more than 120 symphonies, primarily works by Salzburg and Viennese composers. Salzburg's citizens also required music for their entertainment, and some of Mozart's best-known works of the 1770s were demonstrably written for private performance, including not only the "Haffner" Serenade but also the Three-piano Concerto K242 for Countess Lodron and her daughters as well as the Divertimento K247 for the Countess's name-day, the Piano Concerto K246 for Countess Lützow and the Divertimento K334 probably for the Robinig family. Schiedenhofen's diary describes a private concert made up entirely of Mozart's compositions:

> [25 July 1777:] to Gusseti's where the music by young Mozart, which he wanted to perform for his sister in the evening, was rehearsed. It consisted of a symphony, a violin concerto, played by young Mozart, a concerto for transverse flute, played by the violone [double bass] player Herr Castel, and everything was young Mozart's work.[21]

It appears, then, that most of Mozart's compositional and performing activity was directed at music-making away from the court, an impression confirmed by Nannerl Mozart's diary. Of the 151 entries for the period from 26 March 1779 to 30 September 1780, only two explicitly describe Mozart's official duties, and both state only "my brother had to play at court". The rest describe the Mozarts' social life and the kinds of musical activity that occupied him most. The period 16–28 September 1780 — for which Mozart wrote most of the entries, referring to himself in the third person — is typical:

[20] Corbinian Gärtner, *Lebensbeschreibung des Hochwürdigen Fürsten und Herrn Herrn Hieronymus Josephus Franciscus de Paula Erzbischofes zu Salzburg, des heiligen apostolischen Stuhles zu Rom gebornen Legaten, Primas von Teutschland und Grosskreuzes des kaiserl. österreich. Leopolds-Ordens, aus dem fürstl. Hause Colloredo von Wallsee und Möls* (Salzburg, 1812), 6.

[21] The grocer (or druggist, the sources disagree) Johann Baptist Gusetti lived at what is now 7/9 Siegmund-Haffner-Gasse, close to the Hagenauer family home at 9 Getreidegasse. The works by Mozart performed on this occasion cannot be identified with certainty.

16th. To church at 8 o'clock. Afternoon with Lodron. At 4 o'clock visit from Feigele. Played tarot. Changeable weather, just like April. And very cool.

17th. To church at half past 7. With Lodron and the Mayrs. At half past 2 Fräulein Nannerl, Therese and Luise Barisani called. From 5 to 6 the 2 Mlles Hartensteiner called. At 6 Fräulein Josepha came. Feigele was also there. We played cards. At half past 7 Mölk came, but left straightaway. At 9 my brother took the girls home. Weather changeable like yesterday.

18th. To cathedral at 9 o'clock.
Katherl and Paris had lunch with me, as Papa and my brother were lunching at Holy Trinity. Feigele provided the prizes. Wirtenstätter won. Played tarot. At 6 Papa, I, Feigele, Wirtenstätter and Pimperl went for a walk. Back home by half 7. Fine weather.

19th. Mass at the University Church at half past 9. Afterwards called on Mayr and assistant riding master. At 2 at Lodron's. Visit from Feigele. Played tarot. At 6 Papa, Feigele, my brother, I and Pimperl to the Robinigs'. Back at half 8. Very beautiful weather.

20th. To church at half past 7. Called on Lodron and the Mayrs. Visit from Feigele during the afternoon. Played tarot. Weather changeable; rained heavily. A fine evening.

21st. To church at half past 7, then called in at the Barisanis to congratulate them. Afternoon at Lodron's. Visit from Katherl and Feigele. Played tarot. Heavy showers alternating with sunny spells all day.

22nd. At Lodron's; then Mass at Holy Trinity at half past 10. Then to the Mayrs. At 2 my brother and I called on Frau von Antretter. Papa joined us there. Returned home at 4 with Feigele. Played tarot. Then went for a walk. At half past 8 Herr Heydecker, the ropemaker from Ischl, called. The valet Angerbauer returned from court with my brother. Rain. Stopped. Beautiful evening later on.

23rd. To Mass at 7 o'clock. Called on Mayr and assistant riding master. Bite to eat at Lodron's. Katherl and Schachtner called. Played tarot. At half past 4 the couple from Ischl. Rained and didn't rain. In the evening a thunderstorm and not a thunderstorm.

[in Nannerl Mozart's hand:]
24th. To Mass at Holy Trinity at 10 and half past 10. In the afternoon Messrs Ferrari, Fiala, Schachtner and Brindl called, rehearsed a concerto, afterwards at Katherl's the

[in Mozart's hand:]
Mezgers there. Half past 11 played. At 4 my father and brother joined us. At 5 we all went bowling in the

Mezgers' courtyard. At 9 a serenade in the street outside Herr Dehl's on the Kollegienplatz. The march from the last graduation music… And the Haffner music. Rained during the morning. Cleared up during the afternoon.

25th. Mass at half past 9. Target practice in the afternoon. Feiner provided the prizes. Katherl and Wirtenstätter won as a team.
Played tarot. Fine weather in the morning. Rained during the afternoon.

26th. Massed at 7 o'clock. Later lost patience with Regine, the assistant riding master's daughter, and at the Mayrs. Lodronned on in the afternoon and Lodronned off at 3. At 4 we were Feigeled and then demoneyed at tarot. The sky dewatered itself nearly all day and we were badly winded.

27th. At Lodron's. Mass at half past 10. Then home. My brother went to Lodron's instead of Papa, who has rheumatism. Schachtner afternoon till 5 Feigele and Katherl called. Played tarot.
Weather same as yesterday.

28th. Mass at 7. At the Mayrs and assistant riding master's. Afternoon Mlle Braunhofer called. Katherl, Feigele — played tarot. Weather changeable. But the evening delightful.[22]

If the court was primarily interested in church music, and not particularly concerned with orchestral and other instrumental works, then Mozart's output from the 1770s — the number of his symphonies alone almost exceeds his entire output of Masses, litanies, offertories and shorter sacred works — seems like more than a curiosity: it seems like a provocation. And a deliberate provocation as well, since while the composition of church music was expected of Salzburg musicians, even that was not a contractual obligation. When Mozart returned to Salzburg in 1779, his letter of appointment stated only that "he shall … carry out his appointed duties with diligence, assiduity and irreproachably, in the Cathedral as well as at court and in the chapel, and shall *as far as possible* serve the court and the church with new compositions made by him" — which in Mozart's case, was not far at all.

It is possible that much of Mozart's music (the church music excepted), was not heard at court, especially since the choice of music to be performed there was strictly *ad hoc*. According to a description of the Salzburg court music establishment from 1757, "the three court composers play their instruments in the church as well as in the chamber and in rotation with the Kapellmeister, each has the direction of the court music for a week at a time. All the musical arrangements depend solely upon whoever is in charge each week as he, at his pleasure, can perform his own or other persons' pieces." This sort of decentralised

[22] The last lines of these diary entries are written in Salzburg dialect.

organisation explains a passage in Leopold Mozart's letter of 28 May 1778:

The Archbishop of Olmütz was consecrated on the 17th. If you had not had so much to do for other people at Mannheim, you might have finished your Mass and sent it to me. For at our practices Brunetti was chattering about who should compose the consecration Mass and was hoping to arrange for Haydn to get the commission from the Archbishop. But the latter never replied; nor did Counts Czernin and Starhemberg who were approached by Brunetti and Frau Haydn. I therefore produced Wolfgang's Mass with the organ solo, taking the Kyrie from the Spaur Mass.[23]

All in all then, it may have seemed to Colloredo that Wolfgang, given the opportunity, was slacking off. Certainly Mozart gave him plenty of ammunition, not only during the mid-1770s, but also after his return from Mannheim and Paris when he was reinstated at Salzburg under favourable conditions as court and cathedral organist. For although in 1779 and 1780 he composed the "Coronation" Mass K317 and the *Missa solemnis* K337, the Vespers K321 and K339 and the *Regina coeli* K276, Colloredo was apparently not satisfied. In an ambiguously worded document appointing Michael Haydn to replace Mozart in 1782 he wrote:

we accordingly appoint [Johann Michael Haydn] as our court and cathedral organist, in the same fashion as young Mozart was obligated, with the additional stipulation that he show more diligence … and compose more often for our cathedral and chamber music, and, in such cases, himself direct in the cathedral on every occasion.[24]

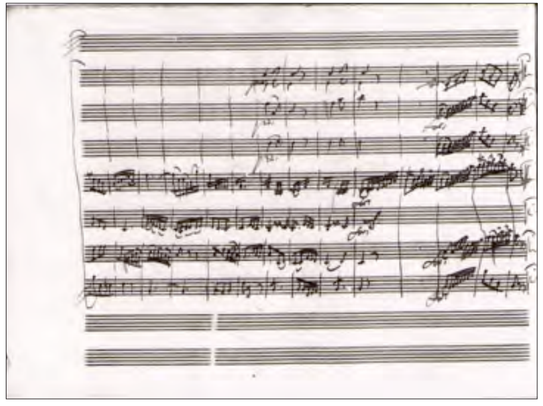
Even the relatively few orchestral works by Mozart that came to the court's notice must have surprised the Archbishop: their complexity, colourful scoring and harmonic richness, even among symphonies of the early 1770s, are not like other similar works composed in Salzburg. A case in point is the Symphony K133, composed in close proximity to Michael Haydn's Symphony Sherman 81 (Perger 9).[25] Haydn's symphony, which originally consisted of three movements composed in 1766, was augmented in 1772 by the addition of a finale; the autograph of this new movement is dated 15 June 1772. K133 was completed a month later, in July. Parallels between the works are clear: both have quiet, lyrical main themes that are withheld at the beginning of the recapitulation and reappear only at the conclusion of the movement,

[23] The "organ solo" Mass is K259; the "Spaur" Mass is thought to be K258.
[24] Michael Haydn's appointment is reproduced in G. Croll and K. Vossing, *Johann Michael Haydn: sein Leben — sein Schaffen — seine Zeit* (Vienna, 1987), 66–67 (with facsimile) and H. Schuler, "Salzburger Kapellhauslehrer zur Mozartzeit", *Acta mozartiana* 35 (1988), 31.
[25] See C.H. Sherman and T.D. Thomas, *Johann Michael Haydn (1737–1806). A Chronological Thematic Catalogue of His Works* (Stuyvesant, NY, 1993), 30–31.

more elaborately scored and *forte*. But these structural similarities are mostly on the surface, and the two composers work out their ideas in strikingly different ways.

Like other Salzburg symphonies of the 1760s and 1770s, Haydn's work consists primarily of blocks of material that are shifted about and rearranged in a different order, occasionally with varied scoring and dynamics, but only rarely with different functions. There is little that is dramatic about the movement. Even the unexpected return of the main theme at the end of the first movement is unexceptional, since the material is stated once, more or less exactly as it had been at the beginning of the work, and leads directly to the cadential material, thus preserving a sense of closure that is symmetrical, the reversed order of the recapitulation notwithstanding.

Mozart's symphony, on the other hand, invites critical engagement. For although it begins straightforwardly enough, with three *forte* chords, the character of the primary material is already different from Haydn's: where Haydn's main theme is harmonically and rhythmically stable, Mozart's — beginning in the second bar — has no downbeat root-position tonic chords and only deceptive cadences. The entire gesture, from the opening of the movement to the beginning of the transition, is ambiguous. What is more, the reappearance of the main theme at the end of the movement is not recapitulatory at all: by any conventional measure, the movement has run its course, including the restatement of cadential material. It comes as something of a surprise, therefore, that the main theme is restated at all, and even more of a surprise in that Mozart's initially weak, unstable theme is immediately juxtaposed with its opposite: the full orchestra, *forte*, invests the material with perfect cadences and strong root movements. It is functionally changed and, as closing material, makes for a meaningful reversal between the opening and closing of the movement, drawing out, in a manner of speaking, the meaning of the three opening chords, now "realised" like some elaborate figured bass as a fully-fledged thematic gesture that gives the



W. A. Mozart, Symphony K133, autograph, last page of the first movement. Original: bpk / Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

movement tonal stability and a convincing close.

If this is what Mozart had in mind, then it is no wonder Colloredo was perplexed by his young composer. And he was not the only one who found Mozart's Salzburg music difficult or unsatisfactory. When Charles Burney's correspondent Louis de Visme visited Salzburg in 1772, shortly after the composition of K133, he wrote: "Young Mozhard, too, is of the band, you remember this prodigy in England … If I may judge of the music which I heard of his composition, in the orchestra, he is one further instance of early fruit being more extraordinary than excellent." Possibly it was reactions such as these that led Mozart to write to his father: "I confess that in Salzburg work was a burden to me and that I could hardly ever settle down to it. Why? Because I was never happy … there is no stimulus [there] for my talent! When I play or when any of my compositions is performed, it is just as if the audience were all tables and chairs." [26 May 1781]

Even leaving aside the possibly exaggerated complaints of the Mozarts, there is no question Colloredo was a difficult employer. Perhaps his greatest failing with respect to the court music may have been a blind trust in foreign-born musicians, Italians in particular, whom he frequently promoted over the heads of better-qualified local talent. Long-time employees such as Leopold Mozart and Michael Haydn, both of whom established their credentials during Schrattenbach's reign, had good reason to be disgruntled: not only were they repeatedly passed over for promotion, but many of Colloredo's choices of rank-and-file musicians turned out badly. When the violinist Wenzel Sadlo became incapacitated in December 1785, the archbishop had the two oldest choirboys from the Kapellhaus play violin in the Cathedral as a stop-gap measure until the arrival in Salzburg of a new violinist from Italy, Giacomo Latouche. Leopold was upset. Not only had he hoped his pupil Joseph Breymann would be taken on, but Latouche made the worst possible impression:

> The new violinist arrived on Good Friday, but hasn't played a note of a solo yet, and as far as I can see, we'll hardly get to hear a concerto from him very soon either; something like a *quartet* maybe, because the Italians are saying: *the poor man — he's a good professor, you've got to give him that, and he'll be good leading the second violins*; but he *hasn't been used* to playing concertos. *At most he can play a trio or quartet cleanly, and what's more he's timid.* Now it can't be held against him that he's timid either, because after all he's only *30 years* old. So the archbishop has once again been nicely diddled and with a salary of 500 fl. to boot, plus 40 ducats travel money here and back making 700 fl. good luck to him! — on top of that the man isn't good-looking. He's of medium build, has a pale, rather puffed up face, and yet has certain bony bits to it too, like a horse's head, hangs his head forward, and chews tobacco like the Zillerthal farmers; that's what the Italians say. I pity the man, all the same it's a piece of Italian audacity to undertake something you're not capable of. [18 April 1786]

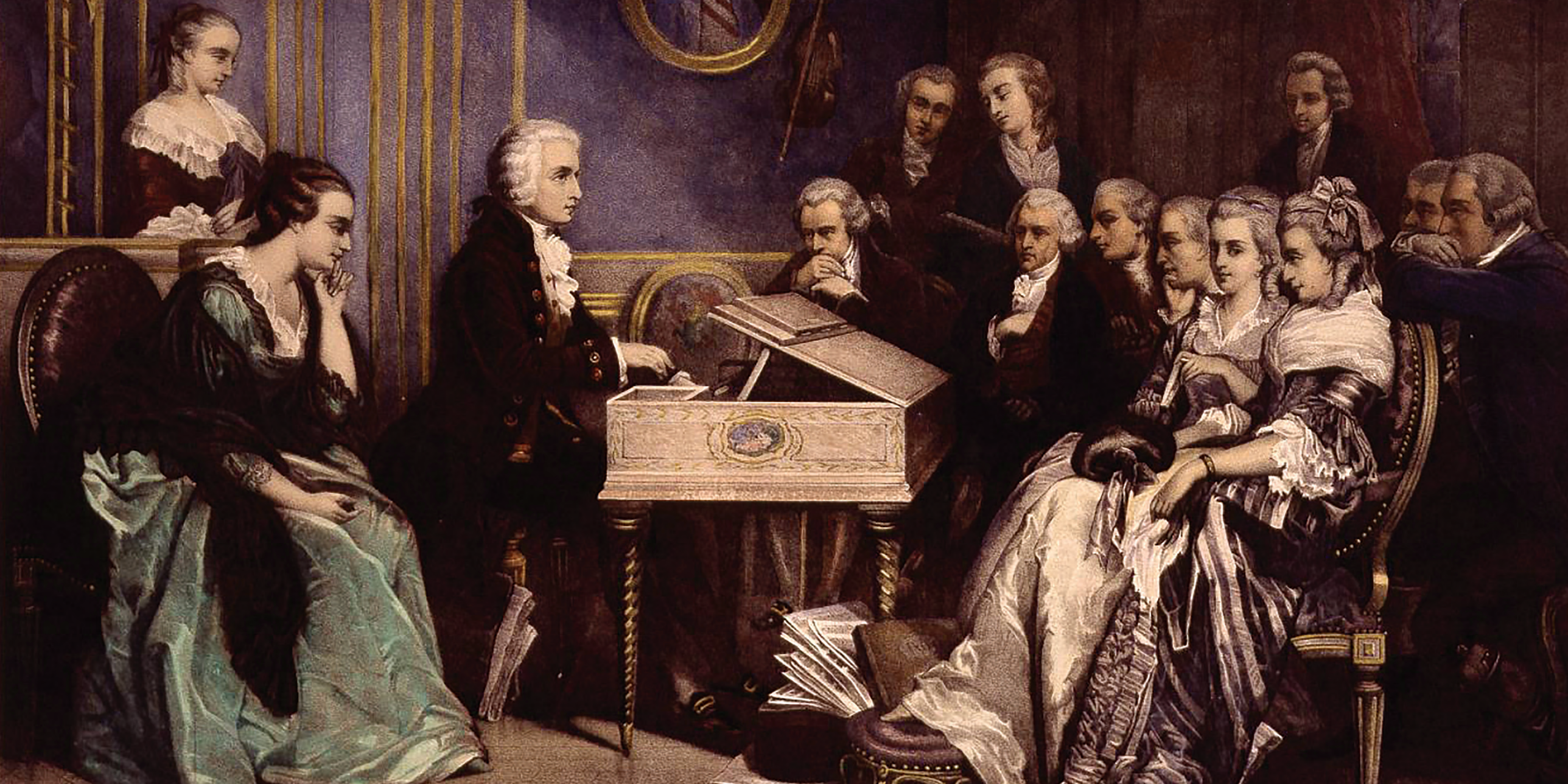
The upshot was that Latouche left court service in late 1786, excusing himself to Colloredo on grounds of poor health: the truth of the matter was that he left behind a pregnant girl.

At the same time, however, the Mozarts were not good employees. Mozart and his father made no bones about their dissatisfaction. And as their descriptions of the Mannheim orchestra make clear, they considered themselves to be men of good breeding. Accordingly they withdrew as much as possible from the court music — Leopold by engaging himself with literature and "no longer [putting] his whole heart into it" (as he wrote to Padre Martini), and Mozart by deliberately cultivating non-institutional music-making of a sort — instrumental and orchestral music — foreign to his court obligations and in a style that challenged local taste. The Mozarts saw themselves as moderns: Leopold said as much when, in 1755, he described one of his symphonies as "composed in the most up-to-date fashion" [letter of 29 December 1755] and — especially after their trips across Europe — father and son felt trapped in Salzburg. Certainly they felt unappreciated, a view that was held by some of their friends as well. When Leopold Mozart died in 1787, Dominicus Hagenauer, by then abbot at St Peter's, wrote in his diary:

Cajetan Rupert Hagenauer (Father Dominicus, 1746-1811). Copy of an oil painting by Sebastian Stief (1811-1889), Salzburg about 1850.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

> On Whit Monday the 28th, in the year 1787, early, died our Vice Kapellmeister Leopold Mozart, who did especial honour to Salzburg with his two children some 20 years ago, by taking his boy Wolfgang and his daughter Anna, the former aged 7 and the latter 10, all over Germany, France, Holland, England, Switzerland and Italy as far as Rome, as great virtuosi on the clavier, finding applause and praise everywhere, and also bringing back an abundance of presents. The son is now one of the most famous composers in Vienna and the daughter is married to Herr von Sonnenburg, prefect at St Gilgen in the Province of Salzburg. The mother died in Paris during her second visit there with her son. The father who died to-day was a man of much wit and sagacity, who would have been capable of rendering good service to the State even apart from music. He was the most correct violinist of his time, to which his twice-published violin school bears witness. He was born at Augsburg and spent most of the days of his life in the service of the Court here, but had the misfortune of being always persecuted here and was not as much favoured by a long way as in other, larger places in Europe.

True as this may have been, the Mozarts' reaction to Colloredo and to their professional colleagues — haughtiness, withdrawal and seemingly deliberate musical provocation — was bound to cause friction. If blame is to be apportioned for the breakdown of Wolfgang's relationship with his native city, then it is clear that both sides were at fault.



Portraits of Mozart

Dr Christoph Grosspietsch, Salzburg Mozarteum Foundation

All his life — as a child in Salzburg and as a professional musician in Vienna, but especially during his extensive travels — Mozart must have sat for portraits repeatedly. Probably many of those paintings are lost. Today there are far fewer authenticated pictures of Mozart — only around fourteen — than of his contemporaries Haydn and Beethoven.

What did Mozart really look like? Frequently idealised as Apollo, the artist's appearance was actually something quite different: outwardly unassuming, with not especially attractive features, small of stature but with a relatively large head and pale complexion. Even as a child he bore the scars of serious illnesses. His face was marked by a hooked, crooked nose and two protruding, crossed, large blue eyes with bushy eyebrows. He was always in a hurry and rarely able to be still. His small, rather feminine hands moved with elegance when he fantasised at the keyboard and, as Constanze Mozart later admitted, "he was not at all pleased to be encountered *en face*". Indeed there is only a single authentic portrait that does not show the adult composer in profile.

The earliest Mozart portrait (1762–63), by the Salzburg court painter Pietro Antonio Lorenzoni, shows the childishly round-faced six-year-old in full-dress Salzburg court attire, standing in front of a small keyboard instrument (Ill. 1). The painting was done immediately before his major tour of western Europe extending over three years.

A bit later, in Paris in 1763, father Mozart and his children were portrayed as a trio of musicians in a watercolour by Carrogis de Carmontelle (Ill. 2). Leopold Mozart came up with the idea of having Jean-Baptiste Delafosse base an engraving on it (1764), which he gave away for promotional purposes or else sold (Ill. 3).

Particularly informative is the painting of an afternoon tea party (1766) in the Parisian drawing room of the Bourbon prince of Conti. A well-known patron and music lover, Conti resided in the Temple palace as grand prior of the Knights of the Order of Malta. This tea-concert scene with little Mozart at the harpsichord (Ill. 4) also shows the famous singer Pierre Jélyotte tuning his guitar.

"Mozart in Verona" (Ill. 5) is perhaps the most splendid of all Mozart portraits, with a comparably opulent, inscribed rococo frame. The blue-eyed master sits at a Venetian harpsichord by Celestini, with one of his own keyboard pieces (K72a) on the desk. Mozart's virtuosity as a string player is also referred to in the painting by means of a large violin or viola lying on the harpsichord. The unsigned picture is thought today to be the work of Gianbettino Cignaroli.

A violin and keyboard instrument also dominate the "large family portrait" (1780–81) in which the composer and his sister Nannerl, with crossed hands, are playing a keyboard duet and, standing behind the instrument, their father Leopold proudly displays a violin (Ill. 6). The painting was done in an unknown Salzburg studio (the attribution to Johann Nepomuk della Croce is probably based on a misunderstanding, though this artist's authorship cannot be entirely ruled out). It was upon this oversized picture that one of the most famous of all Mozart portraits was based: the posthumous oil painting of the composer (1819) by the Salzburg artist Barbara Krafft (Ill. 7). It has enjoyed enormous popularity ever since the Mozart bicentenary year 1956.

Outstanding among the miniatures is the one from 1778 (Ill. 8) intended for "the Bäsle", Mozart's cousin Maria Anna Thekla Mozart, which was passed down by her son-in-law's family. Although the "Bäsle" miniature is of mediocre artistic quality, it acquires special significance in being one of a pair of exchanged portraits. The least verifiable among the miniatures is the one painted on ivory (Ill. 9) following the last Italian journey of 1773, putatively by Martin Knoller but probably by an anonymous artist.

The "portrait of Mozart wearing the Order of the Golden Spur" from 1777 (Ill. 10) was commissioned by Padre Martini in Bologna but was executed in Salzburg four years after the composer's last Italian journey. It was sent to Bologna by Leopold. According to recent findings the artist was Johann Nepomuk della Croce.

In 1781 Mozart settled in Vienna, where a further miniature portrait of him was painted on ivory in 1783 by Joseph Grassi and attached to a snuffbox (Ill. 11). Lost until 1956, it is not only the earliest Viennese painting of Mozart but also depicts the composer frontally, which he thought unflattering.

The two images of Mozart created around 1788–89 by his friend Leonhard Posch are of great significance. Whereas the archaizing version A circulated as a bas-relief in great numbers until well into the nineteenth century in the form of metal castings (Ill. 12), the bas-relief of version B, showing Mozart in fashionably traditional garb, enjoyed an unmatched reception through engravings (Ill. 13) — initially, during Mozart's lifetime, by Johann Georg Mansfeld the younger in Vienna (1789; Ill. 14). There are also medallion renderings of Posch's Mozart image in wax, plaster, meerschaum and boxwood (Ill. 15). Version B was the bas-relief image cherished most by Constanze Mozart.

The last two well-known portraits from Mozart's lifetime also date from around 1789. The small head study in oils by Joseph Lange, Mozart's brother-in-law and a teacher of Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller (who made a famous portrait of Beethoven), was later expanded as a painting of "Mozart at the keyboard" (Ill. 16), but the latter version remained unfinished, perhaps because its proportions were rather unsuited to the instrument. This powerfully expressive profile painting, so treasured by Constanze, is among the most widely published of all Mozart portrayals.

The delicate portrait of Mozart made in Dresden during a tour of Germany by Dorothea (Dora; Doris) Stock utilises the silverpoint technique re-introduced by her teacher Anton Graff (Ill. 17). Long hidden from the public eye, the painting resurfaced through the medium of a copperplate and until 1863 was unknown even to Mozart experts.

Two further copperplate engravings — by Heinrich Philipp Carl Bossler (Speyer, 1784; Ill. 18) and Hieronymus Löschenkohl (Vienna, 1785; Ill. 19) — are silhouette profiles, then highly fashionable, of a very youthful, idealised Mozart.

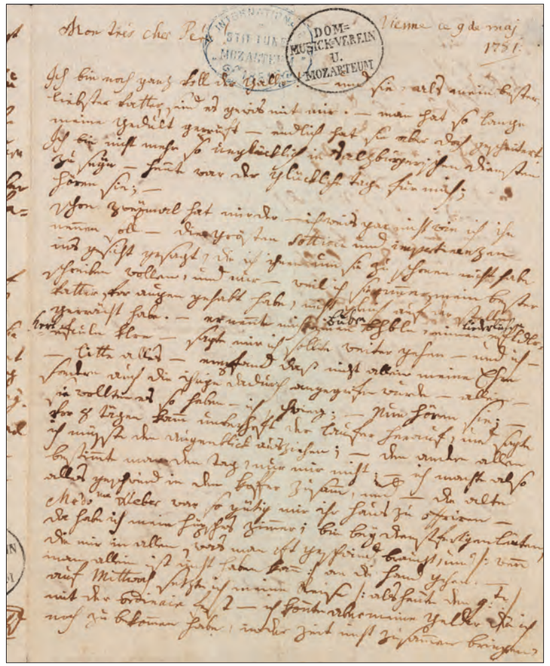
Posthumous images of Mozart are based on the Posch portrait of him in traditional attire or borrow heavily from the archais, *Salzburg Mozarteum Foundation*ed depictions. There are also newly conceived images having no historical foundation. Finally, starting in the 1830s, there has been a rampant increase in illustrations of anecdotes from Mozart's life. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the "Mozart myth" in particular has become a focus of visual representations. Artists such as Andy Warhol frequently draw upon easily recognizable prototypes, as seen in examples by Posch, Lange and Krafft.

Translation Richard Evidon

Part III: Mozart in Vienna 1781–1791

Joseph Daniel Huber, map of Vienna (detail), 1778, three years before Mozart's move to the imperial capital. St Stephen's cathedral is depicted in the city centre; Mozart lived around the corner, at Domgasse 5, from 1784 to 1787. Original: Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv, Kartographische Sammlung 11

In early March 1781 Archbishop Colloredo, in Vienna for the celebrations surrounding the accession of Emperor Joseph II, summoned Mozart to the imperial capital; he arrived on 16 March and lodged with the archbishop's entourage. Fresh from his triumphs in Munich, Mozart was offended at being treated like a servant, and his letters home over the next three months reflect his increasing irritation and resentment. Matters came to a head on 9 May at a stormy interview with Colloredo:



W. A. Mozart to L. Mozart, 15 November 1780.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

Mon très cher Père,
I'm still seething with rage! — And you, my most beloved and dearest father, will surely be as well. — My patience has been tried for so long that it's finally given out. I'm no longer so unfortunate as to be in the service of the Salzburg court — today has been a happy day for me; listen; —

That — I really don't know what to call him — has twice said to my face the stupidest and most insolent things, which I've not told you about in my letters as I wanted to spare your feelings, and it was only because I kept thinking of you, my dearest father, that I didn't avenge them there and then. — He called me a knave and a rake — and told me I should clear off — and I — I put up with it all — although I felt that not only my own honour but yours as well was under attack — but — you wanted it so — so I said nothing; — now listen; — a week ago the footman arrived unexpectedly and told me to leave that instant; — the others had all been given their date of departure, but not me; — so I quickly shoved everything into my trunk and — old Madame Weber was kind enough to offer me her house, where I now have a nice room and where I'm with obliging people who've provided me with all the things that you often need in a hurry and that you can't have when you're on your own. —

I arranged to return home by the ordinaire on Wednesday the 9th, in other words, today — but I didn't have time to collect the money still due to me, so I delayed my journey till Saturday — when I turned up today, the valets told me that the archbishop wanted me to take a parcel for him — I asked if it was urgent; they said yes, it was of great importance. — Then I'm sorry that I can't have the privilege of serving His Grace as I can't leave before Saturday — for the reason given above; — I'm no longer staying here but have to live at my own expense — so I naturally can't leave until I'm in a position to do so — no one will expect me to ruin myself. — Kleinmayr Moll, Bönike and the 2 valets agreed with me. — When I went in to see him — by the way, I should have said that Schlauka advised me to make the excuse that the ordinaire was already full — he said this would carry more weight; — well, when I went in to see him, the first thing he said was: *arch*: Well, my *lad*, when are you leaving? — *I*: I wanted to leave tonight but there's no room. He didn't stop to draw breath. — I was the most dissolute lad that he knew — no one served him as badly as I did — he advised me to leave today, otherwise he'd write home and have my pay stopped — it was impossible to get a word in edgeways, it was like a fire out of control — I listened to it all calmly — he lied to my face that I was on 500 florins — he called me a scoundrel, a scurvy rogue and a cretin — oh, I'd prefer not to tell you all he said — finally, my blood began to boil, so I said — so Your Grace isn't satisfied with me? — What, are you threatening me, you cretin, O you cretin! — Look, there's the door, I want nothing more to do with such a miserable knave — finally I said — Nor I with you — Well, go then — *and I*, as I was leaving — so be it; you'll have it in writing tomorrow.

Initially, at least, the archbishop refused Mozart's requests to be discharged, but at a meeting with Colloredo's chief steward Karl Joseph Felix von Arco on 8 June, he was finally and decisively released from Salzburg service:

The scene took place in the antechamber … the archbishop's departure was fixed for the following day. I could not let him leave thus and, as I had heard from Arco (or so at least he had told me) that the Prince knew nothing about it, I realised how angry he would be with me for staying on so long and then at the very last moment appearing with a petition of this kind. I therefore wrote another memorandum, in which I explained to the Archbishop that it was now four weeks since I had drawn up a petition but, finding myself for some unknown reason always put off, I was now obliged to present it to him in person, though at the very last moment. This memorandum procured me my dismissal from his service … I sent a message to Count Arco saying *that I had nothing more to say to him* for he went for me so rudely when I first saw him and treated me as if I were a rogue, which he had no right to do … if he was really so well disposed toward me, he ought to have reasoned quietly with me — or have let things take their course, rather than throw such words about as "clown" and "knave" and hoof a fellow out of the room with a kick on his arse.
[Letter of 9 June 1781]

Mozart's letters reflect not only his growing dissatisfaction with Salzburg service, but also an increasing enthusiasm for his chances in Vienna: keyboard playing, he told Leopold, was so well appreciated there that he would have little trouble making his way in the imperial capital. But it was not just keyboard playing that was appreciated in Vienna: the city offered a large number of social and musical opportunities, virtually all of which Mozart successfully exploited during his decade there. Some of them can be directly attributed to Joseph II's enlightened policies; others resulted from Mozart's own initiatives.

Joseph II, Emperor of Austria, by Joseph Kreutzinger (1757-1829), in the second half of the 18th Century. Original: Palace of Caserta

The court offered Mozart one possibility, for despite his financial austerity and numerous reforms, Joseph II never abandoned either the court chapel or opera, both of which required composers. Mozart was eventually appointed director of the emperor's chamber music in December 1787, an appointment seen by some biographers as a disappointment: his predecessor, Gluck, had been paid two thousand gulden, Mozart only eight hundred. But in fact, Gluck's appointment was both honorific and extraordinary, and Wolfgang's appointment, especially after the pensioning off of the Kapellmeister Giuseppe Bonno, made him one of only two composers at court along with Antonio Salieri. His duties were minimal, chiefly restricted to composing dances for court balls. The appointment also reflected Mozart's high standing as a composer of opera: he had been commissioned to write *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* in 1781 (the opera was premiered on 16 July 1782), *Le nozze di Figaro* in 1785 (premiered on 1 May 1786) and *Der Schauspieldirektor* in 1786; other opera commissions and performances followed, including *Don Giovanni* (Viennese premiere on 7 May 1788) and *Così fan tutte* (26 January 1790). All of these productions made Mozart the second most frequently commissioned opera composer in Vienna during the 1780s — he was bested only by Salieri — and they do not include *La clemenza di Tito*, composed for the Prague coronation of Leopold II, or *Die Zauberflöte*, written for Emanuel Schikaneder's suburban Freihaus-Theater auf der Wieden, both in 1791. To some extent, Mozart's opera commissions reflect changing practices in

Vienna at the time: Joseph had founded a German National Theatre in 1776, including Singspiele from 1778, abandoned the venture in 1783, and reinstated Italian opera; his successor, Leopold II, was more inclined to *opera seria*.

The church, by contrast, offered fewer compositional and performing opportunities, although Mozart was eventually to succeed at these as well. Unlike Salzburg, where church composition was the chief responsibility of court composers, the Viennese court maintained a low profile with respect to sacred music. Joseph's church reforms — among them the regularisation of services throughout the country and the curtailment or elimination of excessive ceremonies, including the performance of music and employment opportunities for musicians — further restricted Mozart's chances for advancement. The one exception was St Stephen's Cathedral, which was run by the city magistrate and independent of the court. And it was to St Stephen's that Mozart was appointed deputy music director in 1791; had he not predeceased the incumbent, the considerably older Leopold Hoffmann, Wolfgang would have succeeded to the music directorship here in addition to his court appointment.

If the court and the church represented institutionalised music-making in Vienna — and Mozart achieved significant appointments at both within ten years of establishing himself there — they were, nevertheless, not the only opportunities open to him. Keyboard playing, as he himself knew, was his greatest asset, at least in the years immediately following his dismissal from Salzburg service. And it was keyboard playing that first opened doors to him in Vienna. By the summer of 1781 he had taken on two pupils, Countess Marie Karoline Thiennes de Rumbecke and Josepha von Auernhammer; later he would teach piano to Therese von Trattner, Countess Zichy, Countess Palffy, Barbara Ployer and the young virtuoso Johann Nepomuk Hummel, as well as composition to Franz Jakob Freystädtler and the English musician Thomas Attwood. While Attwood and Freystädtler were both advanced, most of Mozart's pupils were not, and a letter of 14 May 1778, when he was in Paris, gives some idea of his teaching style:

> I think I told you in my last letter that the Duc de Guines, whose daughter is my composition pupil, plays the flute exceptionally well and that she herself is a magnificent harpist; she has plenty of talent and genius and, in particular, an exceptional memory as she plays all her pieces — 200 in fact — by heart. But she doubts very much whether she has any gifts as a composer, especially as regards thoughts — ideas; — but her father — who, between the two of us, is far too much in love with her — says that she certainly has ideas, adding that it's simply timidity and that she has too little faith in her own abilities. We'll see. If she has no ideas or thoughts — and at present she doesn't have any at all — it'll all be in vain, for — God knows — I can't give her any. Her father's aim isn't to make a great composer of her — she's not, *he says*, to write operas, arias, concertos or symphonies, but only grand sonatas for her instrument and mine. I gave her her 4th lesson today, and as far as the rules of composition and harmony are concerned, I'm quite pleased with her — she added quite a good bass to the first minuet that I set her. She's now starting to write in 3 parts. It starts off very well, but she soon gets bored, and I can't help her; I can't go on to the next stage yet. It's too soon, even if there really were genius here, but unfortunately there isn't — everything will have to be done with art. She simply doesn't have any ideas. Nothing comes. I've tried everything possible with her; I even had the idea of writing out a very simple minuet and seeing if she could write a variation on it. — But it was a waste of time — all right, I thought, she simply doesn't know how to begin — so I started to write a variation on the first bar and told her to continue in the same vein and keep to the idea — in the end it went fairly well. When she'd finished, I told her to start something of her own — only the leading voice, the melody — well, she thought about it for a whole quarter of an hour — but nothing came. So I wrote down 4 bars of a minuet and said to her: Look what a fool I am; I've started a minuet but can't even complete the first section; would you mind finishing it off for me; she thought it would be impossible; but finally, after a great deal of effort, something emerged; I was pleased that she'd produced something for once. She then had to complete the minuet — I mean just the leading voice. But for her *homework* I told her just to change my 4 bars and write something of her own — invent a different beginning — the harmony could be the same, only the melody should be different. Well, I'll see tomorrow what's come of it.

Mozart first appeared at a public concert in December 1781, a charity event intended to raise money for the widows and orphans of Viennese musicians (the so-called Tonkünstler-Societät). And from 1782 (if not earlier), he gave private and public concerts at the homes of the nobility or at one of the few public spaces (the opera houses aside) that could accommodate a decent crowd, including the Mehlgrube, the Trattnerhof and Jahn's Hall.[26] Use of the much larger court theatres, the Burgtheater and the Kärntnertortheater, was restricted to Lent when operas and plays were not allowed to be given; this explains why virtually all of Mozart's academies (as concerts at the time were called) took place in the spring, including concerts at the Burgtheater on 22 March 1783, 1 April 1784 and 10 March 1785. Typically these concerts included a mix of symphonies, concertos and arias, though on occasion — the Burgtheater concert of 1 April 1784 for example — Mozart either improvised or performed an *ersatz* concerto such as the Quintet for piano and winds K452:

> Today, Thursday, 1 April, Herr Kapellmeister Mozart will have the honour to hold a great musical concert for his benefit at the I. & R. National Court Theatre. The pieces to occur in it are the following: 1) A grand

[26] The rooms on the first floor of the Mehlgrube (Neuer Markt 5/Kärntnerstraße 22) — a property documented from the early fourteenth century — were renovated as a dance hall for the aristocracy in January 1716 and refurbished after 1780 as a bourgeois dance and concert hall. The Trattnerhof (Graben 29/A), from the later thirteenth century until the eighteenth century the Viennese seat of the bishopric of Freising, was acquired in 1773 by the publisher Johann Thomas Trattner; the complex included businesses, private apartments (in one of which Mozart lived in 1784) and a concert hall. Jahn's Hall (Himmelpfortgasse 6) is named after Ignaz Jahn, who from 1772 was caterer at Schönbrunn; in 1782 he opened a concert hall adjacent to his restaurant near the Augarten, Vienna's oldest Baroque park.

symphony with trumpets and drums. 2) An aria, sung by Herr Adamberger. 3) Herr Mozart, Kapellmeister, will play an entirely new concerto on the fortepiano. 4) A quite new grand symphony. 5) An aria, sung by Mlle Cavalieri. 6) Herr Mozart, Kapellmeister, will play an entirely new grand quintet. 7) An aria, sung by Herr Marchesi, senior. 8) Herr Kapellmeister Mozart will improvise entirely alone on the fortepiano. 9) To conclude, a symphony. Apart from the three arias, everything is composed by Kapellmeister Mozart.

Admission ticket to a W. A. Mozart Augarten concert in Vienna, after 1782.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

These grand concerts furthered Mozart's reputation not only in the imperial capital, but across German-speaking Europe, since many were reviewed in the musical press; on 9 May 1783 the Hamburg *Magazin der Musik* reported that "… the famous Herr Chevalier *Mozart* held a musical concert in the National Theatre, at which pieces of his already highly admired composition were performed. The concert was honoured with an exceptionally large crowd, and the two new concertos and other fantasies which Herr M. played on the fortepiano were received with the loudest applause. Our monarch, who against his habit, attended the whole of the concert, as well as the entire audience, accorded him such unanimous applause as has never been heard here." Positive notices appeared in the mainstream press as well: virtually the same review was published in the Hamburg *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung* for 4 April and the *Münchner Zeitung* for 14 April. The number of Mozart's private appearances was considerable. In the spring of 1784 alone he performed for Count Johann Esterházy, the finance minister Count Károly Zichy, the chancellor of state Prince Wenzel Kaunitz and at least twelve times for the Russian ambassador Prince Dmitry Golitsyn.

Finally, publishing was a potentially lucrative source of income for Mozart throughout the 1780s. Within months of his arrival in Vienna he had made arrangements with the publisher Artaria to sell six sonatas for keyboard with violin accompaniment (K376–380 and K296); Artaria remained his chief publisher throughout the decade, producing editions of the six string quartets dedicated to Haydn (K387, K421, K428, K458, K464 and K465), the Fantasia and Sonata in C minor (K475, K457) and the so-called "Prussian" quartets (K575, K589, K590) among others. He was not the only publisher interested in Mozart. Franz Anton Hoffmeister produced editions of the Piano Quartet K478, the String Quartet K499, the Sonata for keyboard with violin accompaniment K526, and the Sonata K533+K494. On occasion, Mozart attempted to publish his works in handwritten copies (the normal mode for the distribution of much music in Vienna at the time) by public subscription, but these apparently failed.

About the time of his dismissal from Salzburg service, Mozart moved to the house of the Webers, his former Mannheim friends, who had relocated to Vienna after Aloysia's marriage to the court actor Joseph Lange. But rumours linking him with Aloysia's younger sister Constanze forced him to relocate. Finding an apartment was not easy, and Mozart wrote to his father on 22 August 1781:

> Mon trés cher Pére!,
>
> I still can't give you the address of my new apartment, as I haven't got one yet; but I'm arguing over the price of two, one of which I shall certainly take as I can no longer stay here next month and must, therefore, move out. — It seems that Herr von Auernhammer has written to you — and told you that I've already found an apartment! — I did indeed have one; but what a place! — It was fit for rats and mice, but not for human beings. — Even at midday you needed a lantern to find the stairs. And the room could best be described as a small closet and could be reached only through the kitchen. There was a little window in the door of my room, and although they assured me that they'd put up a curtain in front of it, they also asked me to draw it back as soon as I was dressed, as otherwise they wouldn't be able to see anything either in the kitchen or in the adjacent rooms. — The lady of the house called it a rats' nest; in a word, it was terrible. — It would have been a splendid place to receive the various distinguished people who come to see me.

In August he moved to the Graben, a fashionable promenade (and former market street) that runs from the Stock-im-Eisen-Platz to the Kohlmarkt, and in February 1782 he described for his sister his daily life in Vienna:

> My hair is always done by 6 in the morning. — By 7 I'm fully dressed. — I then write till 9. From 9 till 1 I teach. — I then eat, unless I'm invited out to a place where people lunch at 2 or even 3, as is the case today and tomorrow, for example, at Countess Zichy's and Countess Thun's. — I can't work before 5 or 6 in the evening, and often I'm prevented from doing so by a concert; if not, I compose till 9. — I then go to see my dear Konstanz [Constanze] — where the pleasure of seeing each other is, however, generally spoilt by

her mother's embittered remarks — I'll explain all this in my next letter to my father — hence my wish to free her and rescue her as soon as possible. — I return home at half past 10 or 11 — this depends on her mother's barbed remarks and my resilience in enduring them. — As I can't rely on being able to compose in the evening because of the concerts that often take place and also because of the uncertainty of being summoned hither and thither, I tend to write some more before going to bed — especially if I get home early. — I then often go on writing until 1 — and then I'm up again at 6. — [Letter of 13 February 1782]

Stock-im-Eisen-Platz with St Stephen's. Engraving, Vienna, 1779, after Carl Schütz. Now part of the Stephansplatz at the corner of the Graben and the Kärntnerstraße, the Stock-im-Eisen-Platz was also close to Mozart's residences on the Graben and, later, at Domgasse 5. Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

By this time Mozart had established himself as perhaps the finest keyboard player in Vienna, although he was not without competition. The most serious challenge came from Muzio Clementi, with whom Mozart played an informal contest at Emperor Joseph II's instigation on 24 December 1781:

Now for *Clementi*. — He's a fine cembalo player. — And that's about it. — He has great dexterity with his right hand. — The passages he plays best are those written in thirds. — For the rest, he doesn't have a farthing's worth of taste or feeling. — A mere machine.

After we'd paid each other enough compliments, the emperor decided that *he* should begin. *La santa chiesa Catholica*, he said — because Clementi is from Rome. — He improvised and played a sonata — the emperor then said to me allons, off you go. — I too improvised and played some variations. — The grand duchess then produced some sonatas by Paisiello — wretchedly written out in his own hand — and I had to play the Allegros, he the Andantes and Rondòs. — We then took a theme from them and developed it on 2 pianofortes. — The odd thing is that I'd borrowed Countess Thun's pianoforte but played on it only when I played on my own — that's what the emperor wanted — also, I should add, the other instrument was out of tune and 3 keys were stuck. *It doesn't matter*, said the emperor; — I assume that what he meant — placing the best possible construction on it — was that the emperor already knew my skill and knowledge of music and just wanted to get a proper idea of the stranger. —

In the spring of 1782 Mozart had a symphony performed at one of the annual Lent concerts sponsored by the Tonkünstler-Societät and participated in a series of concerts promoted by Philipp Jakob Martin. At the first of these, on 26 May, he played the Concerto for two pianos K365 with his pupil Josepha Auernhammer. Earlier, on 3 March, he gave the first of his own grand public academies at the Burgtheater; the programme included the concertos K175 (with the newly composed finale K382) and K415, arias from *Lucio Silla* and *Idomeneo*, and a free fantasy. He also performed regularly at the home of the imperial librarian Gottfried van Swieten, where Bach and Handel were staples of the repertory.

The most important composition of this period was the Singspiel *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, the libretto of which was given to Mozart as early as the end of July 1781. Originally planned for that September, the premiere was postponed until the summer of 1782. The postponement notwithstanding, the opera was a resounding success — the last great success of Joseph's experiment in German-language theatre. Gluck requested an extra performance, the theatrical troupe run by Emanuel Schikaneder mounted an independent production in September 1784, and performances were soon given in cities throughout German-speaking Europe, almost always to universal approval. "*Die Entführung aus dem Serail* has been received with very notable applause in Vienna," wrote Johann Friedrich Schink in his *Dramaturgische Fragmente*. "Applause it owes not to itself [however], but to the excellent music of Herr Mozart and the very good performance by the singers of the National Theatre. I am not a real connoisseur of music … I judge music merely by the general principles of all the fine arts, by the principles of truth and nature. Music which affects the human heart and the human passions, which stirs joy, sorrow and in short every kind of sentiment, which is something more than ear-tickling, namely nourishment for the soul: such music has excellence in my eyes and is the undeniable product of musical genius. Judged by these principles, then, Herr Mozart's music has my entire approval, and I confess with pleasure that Benda and Gluck alone are capable of touching and moving my heart more strongly than Herr Mozart has done with his lovely music."

Schink's principles — "truth and nature" — were exactly what Mozart aimed for in his opera, and in his music generally. Writing to his father on 26 September 1781 he described the composition of the arias "Solche hergelaufne Laffen" and "O, wie ängstlich":

In working out the aria ["Solche hergelaufne Laffen"] I have … allowed Fischer's beautiful deep notes to glow. The passage "Drum beim Barte des Propheten" is indeed in the same tempo, but with quick notes; and as Osmin's rage gradually increases, there comes — just when the aria seems to be at an end — the Allegro assai, which is in a totally different metre and in a different key. This is bound to be very effective. For just as a man in such a towering rage oversteps all the bounds of order, moderation and propriety and

completely forgets himself, so too must the music forget itself. But since passions, whether violent or not, must never be expressed to the point of exciting disgust, and as music, even in the most terrible situation, must never offend the ear but must please the listener, or in other words must never cease to be *music*, so I have not chosen a key foreign to F (in which the aria is written) but one related to it — not the nearest, D minor, but the more remote A minor. Let me now turn to Belmonte's aria in A major, "O wie ängstlich, o wie feurig". Would you like to know how I have expressed it — and even indicated his throbbing heart? By the two violins playing in octaves. This is the favourite aria of all who have heard it, and it is mine also. I wrote it expressly to suit Adamberger's voice. You see the trembling, the faltering, you see how his throbbing breast begins to swell; this I have expressed by a crescendo. You hear the whispering and the sighing, which I have indicated by the first violins with mutes and a flute playing in unison.


Neues Singspiel.

Die Kaiserl. Königl. National-Hof-Schauspieler
werden heute Dienstag den 16 July 1782 aufführen:

(Zum erstenmal)

Die Entführung aus dem Serail.

Ein Singspiel in drey Aufzügen,
nach Bretzners frey bearbeitet und für das k. k. Nationalhoftheater eingerichtet.

In Musik gesetzt vom Herrn Kapellmeister Mozart

Die Bücher sind beym Logenmeister die 17. St. zu haben.

Der Anfang ist um halb 7 Uhr.

Poster for the first performance of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*, at the Burgtheater in Vienna, July 16 1782. Original: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

Shortly after the premiere of *Die Entführung* on 16 July 1782, Mozart decided to go forward with his marriage to Constanze Weber, which he had first mooted to his father the previous December. Events may have given him little choice: probably through his future mother-in-law's scheming, he was put in the position where, because of his alleged intimacy with Constanze, he was required to marry her or to compensate her. Mozart wrote to his father on 31 July, on 2 August the couple took communion together, on 3 August the contract was signed and on 4 August they were married at St Stephen's cathedral. Leopold's grudging consent did not arrive until the next day.

Mozart's departure from Salzburg service and his wedding to Constanze set off an acrimonious exchange with Leopold (whose letters from this period are lost, although their contents can be inferred from Mozart's). Leopold accused Wolfgang of concealing his affair with Constanze and, worse, of being a dupe, while Mozart defended his honour against reproaches of improper behaviour and his alleged

failure to attend to his religious duties. He chastised Leopold for withholding consent to his marriage and for his lukewarm reaction to the success of *Die Entführung*. Presumably in order to heal the rift with family, Mozart determined to take Constanze to Salzburg to meet his father and sister, although the visit was postponed several times due to Mozart's many obligations in Vienna: he conducted *Die Entführung* on 8 October in the presence of the Russian Grand Duke Paul Petrovich; he played at concerts sponsored by Josepha Auernhammer, the Russian prince Dmitry Golitsyn, Philipp Jakob Martin, his sister-in-law Aloysia Lange, Count Esterházy and the singer Therese Teyber; and on 23 March gave his own academy at the Burgtheater. Mozart composed new works for several of these academies, including the Piano Concertos K413–415. He also began work on the so-called "Haydn" quartets: the first, K387, was complete in December 1782 and the second, K421, in June 1783, while Constanze was giving birth to their first child, Raimund Leopold, born on 17 June.

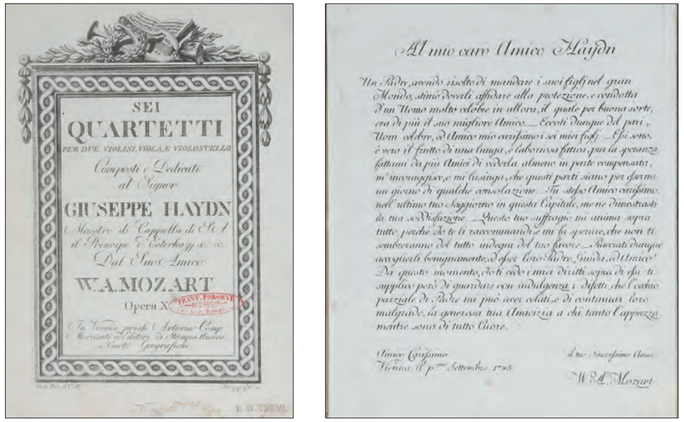
Mozart and Constanze finally set out for Salzburg in July (Raimund Leopold, who was left behind, died in their absence, on 9 August), and they remained there for about three months. Details of the visit are lacking, although hints in some later letters suggest it may not have been entirely happy. While he was in Salzburg Mozart probably composed two duets for violin and viola for Michael Haydn, who was behindhand with a commission from the archbishop, and possibly parts of the unfinished Mass in C minor K427. They left Salzburg on 27 October, stopped at Linz — where Mozart composed the Symphony K425 — and arrived back at Vienna at the end of November.

1784 and 1785 probably count as the busiest years of Mozart's life. Aside from numerous private performances at the homes of the nobility, in March 1784 Mozart gave three subscription concerts in the private hall of the Trattnerhof, the Wind Serenade K361 was performed at a benefit concert for the clarinettist Anton Stadler, and together with the violinist Regina Strinasacchi he played the Sonata K454 at her benefit concert on 29 April. Mozart's own grand academy at the Burgtheater took place on 1 April. The 1785 season was similar: six subscription concerts at the Mehlgrube beginning on 11 February, another grand academy at the Burgtheater on 10 March, and a performance by the Tonkünstler-Societät of the cantata *Davidde penitente* K469, also in March. Leopold Mozart, who visited Wolfgang in Vienna in February and March, attended at least one of the Mehlgrube concerts and wrote to Nannerl:

> At 6 o'clock … we drove to his first subscription concert, which was attended by a great gathering of persons of rank. Everyone pays a gold sovereign or 3 ducats for these Lenten concerts. They're at the Mehlgrube, he pays only *half a gold sovereign* each time he uses the hall. The concert was incomparable, the orchestra admirable, apart from the symphonies a soprano from the Italian theatre sang 2 arias. There was then an *admirable new keyboard concerto by Wolfgang* [K466] on which the copyist was still working when we arrived, your brother didn't even have time to play through the rondeau as he had to oversee the copying. As you can imagine, I met many acquaintances there, all of whom came over to speak to me: but I was also introduced to some other people. On Saturday evening Herr *Joseph Haydn* and the 2 Barons Tinti came round

and the new quartets were played, but only *the 3 new ones* [K458, K464 and K465] that he's written to go with the 3 we already knew, they're a bit easier but admirably composed. Herr Haydn said to me: *I say to you before God and as an honest man, your son is the greatest composer known to me in person or by name: he has taste and, what's more, the greatest knowledge of composition.* On Sunday evening the Italian soprano, Signora Laschi, who's now leaving for Italy, gave a concert at the theatre. She sang 2 arias, there was a cello concerto, a tenor and a bass each sang an aria *and your brother played a wonderful concerto that he'd written for Mlle Paradis in Paris* [K456]. I was sitting at the back only 2 boxes away from the very beautiful Princess of Württemberg and had the pleasure of hearing the interplay between the instruments so clearly that it brought tears of pleasure to my eyes.

Many of these works, as well as some earlier ones, were published about this time, including the sonatas K333, K284 and K454 and, in manuscript, six piano concertos. The most significant, though, were the three concertos K413–415, and, in September 1785, the six quartets dedicated to Haydn.


SEI
QUARTETTI
PER DUE VIOLINI, VIOLA E VIOLONCELLO
Composti e Dedicati
all' Signor
GIUSEPPE HAYDN
Maestro di Cappella di S. A.
il Principe Esterhazy &c. &c.
Dal Suo Amico
W.A.MOZART
Opera X.

Al mio caro Amico Haydn

Title page and dedication of the six quartets dedicated to Haydn
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

To my dear friend Haydn,

A father who had resolved to send his children out into the great world took it to be his duty to confide them to the protection and guidance of a very celebrated man, especially when the latter by good fortune was at the same time his best friend. Here they are then, o great man and my dearest friend, these six children of mine. They are, it is true, the fruit of long and laborious endeavour, yet the hope inspired in me by several friends that it may be at least partly compensated encourages me, and I flatter myself that this offspring will serve to afford me some solace one day. You yourself, dearest friend, told me of your satisfaction with them during your last visit to this capital. It is this indulgence above all which urges me to commend them to you and encourages me to hope that they will not seem to you altogether unworthy of your favour. May it therefore please you to receive them kindly and to be their father, guide and friend! From this moment I resign to you all my rights in them, begging you however to look indulgently upon the defects which the partiality of a father's eye may have concealed from me, and in spite of them to continue in your generous friendship for him who so greatly values it, in expectation of which I am, with all my heart, my dearest friend,

your most sincere friend
W.A. Mozart

Opera remained central to Mozart's ambitions throughout this period, but there was little opportunity to build on the success of *Die Entführung*: by late 1782 Joseph II had decided to close down the Nationaltheater and re-establish Italian opera. Mozart was unable to capitalise at first and left incomplete two false starts, *L'oca del Cairo* and *Lo sposo deluso*. The one-act comedy *Der Schauspieldirektor* was given in early 1786 in the Orangerie at Schloss Schönbrunn together with Salieri's *Prima la musica e poi le parole*, both commissioned for the visit to Vienna of Duke Albert of Sachsen-Teschen, Governor General of the Austrian Netherlands, and *Idomeneo* was given at the private theatre of Prince Karl Auersperg. In the meantime, Mozart had started work with Lorenzo da Ponte on *Le nozze di Figaro*, probably as early as October or November 1785. Based on Beaumarchais' play *La Folle Journée, ou Le Mariage de Figaro*, the text had been printed in German translation in Vienna in 1785 although it was banned from the stage, at least in its spoken form. Mozart and Da Ponte were familiar with its operatic predecessor, however, Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia, ovvero La precauzione inutile*, which had been given in Vienna in May 1784 with great success.

Figaro premiered at the Burgtheater on 1 May 1786. The initial run was a success: several items were applauded and encored at the first three performances, prompting the emperor to restrict encores at later performances to the arias only. But letters from Leopold to Nannerl make it clear that there was considerable intrigue against the work, as does an article in the *Wiener Zeitung* for 11 July 1786:

Herr Mozart's music was generally admired by connoisseurs already at the first performance, if I except those whose self-love and conceit will not allow them to find merit in anything not written by themselves. The public, however (and this often happens to the public) did not really know on the first day where it stood. It heard many a bravo from unbiased connoisseurs, but obstreperous louts in the uppermost storey exerted their hired lungs with all their might to deafen singers and audiences alike with the *St*! and *Pst*! and consequently opinions were divided at the end of the piece … But now, after several performances, one would be subscribing either to the cabal or to tastelessness if one were to maintain that Herr Mozart's music is anything but a masterpiece of art.

The alleged seditious politics of the opera may be overstated. Da Ponte removed the more

inflammatory elements of Beaumarchais' play, and the characters and events of the opera fit well with *commedia dell'arte* traditions. Some social tensions remain, as in Figaro's "Se vuol ballare", and individual arias reflect the social standing of the different characters: the Count's "Vedrò, mentr'io sospiro" is authoritative and menacing, while the Countess's style has a breadth and smoothness of nobility that is mostly lacking from Susanna's *buffa* arias.

The presumed political implications of Mozart's Masonic activities may also be overstated. His lodge in 1786 — "Zur neugekrönten Hoffnung" ("New Crowned Hope") — was led by the well-known scientist Ignaz von Born, and the society was essentially one of liberal intellectuals, concerned less with political ideas than with the philosophical ones of the Enlightenment, including nature, reason and the brotherhood of man. Although the Vatican perceived it as a threat — as it did all "secret" organisations — it was not anti-religious, and membership was compatible with faith. Mozart composed several works for Masonic meetings, including the cantata *Die Maurerfreude* K471, written to honour Born, the *Maurerische Trauermusik* K477, and several songs, including *Gesellenreise* K468, composed on 26 March 1786 to celebrate Leopold Mozart's elevation to second grade at the lodge "Zur wahren Eintracht" ("True Concord"). Mozart's Masonic style is not restricted to music composed for the lodges, but appears elsewhere among his works, both generally, as in *Die Zauberflöte,* and in specific musical constructions: Sarastro's "O Isis und Osiris", with its strophic, antiphonal structure, is virtually identical in form to other Viennese Masonic songs of the 1780s.

Meeting of a Masonic lodge, Vienna ca. 1790, by Ignaz Unterberger. The seated figure at the far right is thought to be Mozart.

In part through his work on *Figaro*, Mozart had made a number of English friends and acquaintances — Nancy Storace, the first Susanna, and Michael Kelly (in fact Irish), the first Don Curzio, as well as his composition pupil Thomas Attwood — and their departure from Vienna in the spring of 1787 led Mozart to consider a journey to London. The idea foundered when Leopold refused to look after Wolfgang's children. (Of Mozart and Constanze's six children only two survived to adulthood: Carl Thomas (1784–

Carl Thomas and Franz Xaver Wolfgang Mozart. Oil painting by Hans Hansen, Vienna about 1798.
Original: Internationale Stiftung Mozarteum, Salzburg.

1858) and Franz Xaver (1791–1844); the others were Raimund Leopold, 1783; Johann Thomas Leopold, 1786; Theresia, 1787–1788; and Anna Maria, 1789.) He did, however, accept an invitation to Prague, where *Figaro* had been a great success. He spent about four weeks there in January 1787, giving a concert on 19 January, for which he composed a new symphony, K504, and directing a performance of *Figaro* on 22 January. It was probably about this time that the Prague impresario Pasquale Bondini commissioned him to write an opera for the following autumn. *Don Giovanni* was premiered on 29 October, to great success. The *Prager Oberpostamtszeitung* for 3 November reported:

> On Monday the 29th the Italian opera company gave the eagerly awaited opera by Maestro Mozart, *Don Giovanni oder das steinerne Gastmahl*. Connoisseurs and musicians say that Prague has never yet heard the like. Herr Mozart conducted in person; when he entered the orchestra he was given three cheers, which again happened when he left it. The opera is, moreover, extremely difficult to perform, and everyone admired the good performance given in spite of this after such a short period of study … The unusually large attendance testifies to unanimous approbation.

The two Da Ponte operas, the increasing success of his publications and his appointment in December 1787 as court chamber musician to Joseph II initiated a new phase in Mozart's career. He gave fewer concerts (at least insofar as these are documented), and genres other than concertos came to the fore in his output, including the symphony. The final trilogy — K543, the G minor K550 and the "Jupiter" K551 — were composed between June and August 1788. But these are anomalous works for the time: the death of Leopold Mozart in May 1787 appears to have initiated a fallow period for Mozart, albeit at some months' distance. The symphonies aside, he completed relatively few substantial works at this time, mainly dances, piano music, songs and arias. Leopold's death also marked a decisive break with Wolfgang's sister, who in 1784 had married the magistrate Johann Baptist Franz von Berchtold zu

Sonnenburg and moved to St Gilgen, but more through benign neglect than intention. Except for settling their father's estate, Mozart failed to keep in touch with her; his last known letter to Nannerl dates from 2 August 1788. Nannerl was apparently hurt by Mozart's lack of attention. When she was approached in 1792 to describe his life in Vienna, she pleaded ignorance, despite the fact that she had become personally acquainted with Constanze in 1783 and still had in her possession numerous letters from her father detailing Mozart's activities at the time.

Mozart's appointment as court chamber musician notwithstanding, his financial circumstances were difficult between 1788 and 1790, at least in part because of the depressed Viennese economy, a result of Joseph II's war with Turkey. Collaterally, there was a general decline in musical patronage, with fewer concerts and other musical opportunities than there had been earlier in the 1780s. It is from this time that a dismal series of begging letters to his fellow Freemason Michael Puchberg survives. One refers to the poor response to his string quintet subscription, another to embarrassing debts to a former landlord, and a third to dealings with a pawnbroker. Van Swieten contributed to Mozart's welfare by commissioning him to arrange several works by Handel, including *Acis and Galatea, Messiah*, *Alexander's Feast* and the *Ode for St Cecilia's Day*. And the war did provide Mozart with topical compositional opportunities, including the war song *Ich möchte wohl der Kaiser sein* K539 and the works for mechanical organ, K594, K608 and K616, some of them probably composed for performance at a mausoleum established in memory of Field Marshal Gideon von Laudon, hero of the Siege of Belgrade.[27]

In the late spring of 1789, possibly in an attempt to bolster his earnings, Mozart undertook a concert tour to Leipzig, Dresden and Berlin. Details of the journey are scarce. In Dresden he played chamber music privately and performed at court, while in Leipzig he reportedly improvised at the Thomaskirche organ. He may have sold some of his compositions in Potsdam and Berlin (where he attended a performance of *Die Entführung*), but on the whole the trip was unsuccessful, as he wrote to Constanze from Berlin on 23 May: "My dearest little wife, when I return you must look forward to seeing *me*, rather than to any *money* … the concert in Leipzig turned out badly, as I always said it would, so that I went 32 miles — plus the return journey — for virtually nothing … here, there is, *1st*, not much to be made from a concert and, *2nd*, the king wouldn't be keen on it. — You must be content, *as I am*, with the fact that I'm fortunate to enjoy the king's favour …". Nevertheless, the journey was not without its musical rewards: in Leipzig Mozart renewed his acquaintance with Bach's music, obtaining a score of the motet *Singet dem Herrn ein neues Lied!* BWV 225 (the impact of which is evident in the chorale of the Armed Men in *Die Zauberflöte*), and he was probably invited by King Friedrich Wilhelm II, an amateur cellist, to

[27] Laudon (1717–1790) had commanded the Habsburg army that between 15 September and 8 October 1789 conquered the Ottoman fortress at Belgrade. The city was returned to the Ottomans in 1791 following the ratification of the Treaty of Svishtov.

compose quartets and keyboard sonatas. Almost certainly he started work on these commissions during the return journey to Vienna, although when they were published by Artaria in 1791, they lacked a dedication.

Mozart's professional circumstances improved in 1789. *Figaro* was revived at the Burgtheater on 29 August, and he was asked to compose replacement arias for productions of Cimarosa's *I due baroni,* a German-language version of Paisiello's *Il barbiere di Siviglia* and Martín y Soler's *Il burbero di buon cuore*; in a sign of his international reputation, the poet Friedrich Wilhelm Gotter intended to offer Mozart his opera libretto *Die Geisterinsel*. Mozart's main energies, though, were given to the composition of *Così fan tutte*, his third collaboration with Da Ponte and the only Mozart–Da Ponte opera for which there is no direct literary source. The libretto may be original to Da Ponte, although it is sometimes claimed that the subject was suggested by Joseph II. It is unlikely that the idea was Mozart's: the text was originally offered to Salieri, who set some early numbers but then abandoned it. Otherwise, little is known concerning the opera's genesis. It was rehearsed at Mozart's home on 31 December and at the theatre on 21 January 1790; the premiere was on 26 January. There were four further performances by mid-February and five more in the summer; the hiatus was due to the death of Joseph II on 20 February.

The last morning of Emperor Joseph II.
Coloured Engraving, 1790.
Original: Vienna Museum

Joseph was succeeded by his brother Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who within two years transformed Viennese musical theatre, reviving *opera seria* and reforming comic opera. (Although these changes were seemingly reactionary, they established a theatrical culture that gave rise, at least in part, to both *Die Zauberflöte* and *La clemenza di Tito*.) Mozart had no official role in the coronation ceremonies, but nevertheless travelled to Frankfurt in September 1790 for the festivities. He gave a public concert on 15 October that was a musical success but a financial failure; on the return journey he gave a concert in

Mainz, heard *Figaro* in Mannheim, and played before the King of Naples in Munich. He reached home about 10 November.

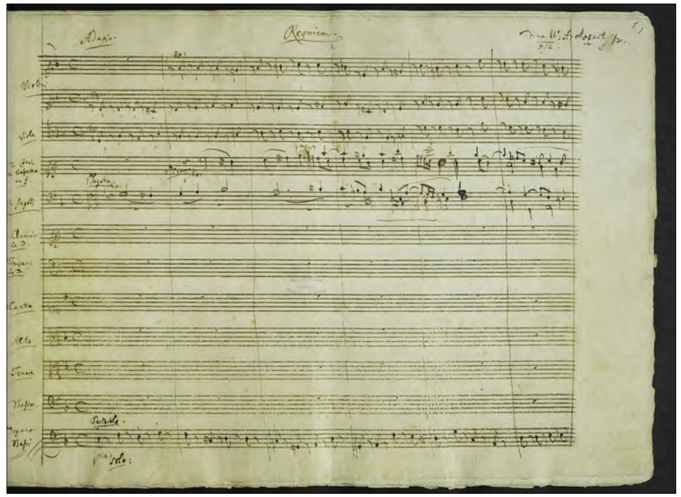
Mozart's last year, 1791, marked a return to prolific composition, extensive publications — Viennese dealers produced nearly a dozen editions of his works —, public appearances and significant new appointments and commissions. He composed the Piano Concerto K595 in January and the String Quintet K614 in April (the Quintet K593 dates from December 1790). He played at a concert organised by the clarinettist Josef Bähr in March, and an aria and symphony of his were given at the Tonkünstler-Societät concerts in April. That same month Mozart secured from the Vienna city council the reversion of the important and remunerative post of Kapellmeister at St Stephen's cathedral; the incumbent, Leopold Hoffmann, was aged and ill, but in the end outlived Mozart.

Dance hall in Redouten Hall, Prague for coronation of Leopold II and Maria Luisa, 18th century.

La clemenza di Tito was written for Leopold II's coronation in Prague. The impresario Domenico Guardasoni signed a contract with the Bohemian Estates on 8 July, and his first choice to compose the coronation opera, either on a subject suggested by the Grand Burgrave of Bohemia or, if time did not permit, on Metastasio's 1734 *La clemenza di Tito*, was Salieri, who refused the commission. Possibly this was mid-July: the fact that Guardasoni's contract included an escape clause, allowing him to engage a different composer, suggests that he may already have expected Salieri to decline and discussed with Mozart the possibility of composing the opera. The text was arranged by Caterino Mazzolà, who cut much of the dialogue and eighteen arias, while adding four new ones, as well as two duets, three trios and finale ensembles. In the catalogue of his works that Mozart kept beginning in February 1784, he described *Tito* as "ridotto a vera opera" ("boiled down to a true opera"). He conducted the premiere on 6 September.

Mozart returned to Vienna in mid-September and over the next two months composed the Clarinet Concerto K622, the Masonic cantata *Laut verkünde unsre Freude* K623, the aria *Per questa bella mano* K612, the piano variations on *Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding* K613 and the motet *Ave verum corpus* K618. His most immediate concern, however, was the impending premiere of *Die Zauberflöte*, written for Emanuel Schikaneder's suburban Theater auf der Wieden. Mozart's letters show that work on the opera was well under way by the previous June, and it may have been complete as early as July — before the *Tito* commission — except for three vocal numbers, the overture and the march. First given on 30 September, the opera was roundly criticised for its text — the Hamburg *Staats- und gelehrte Zeitung* for 14 October complained that the libretto did not meet even minimum expectations — but its music was universally praised.

Probably in mid-July, when work on *Die Zauberflöte* was well advanced and the commission for *Tito* in the works, Mozart was commissioned by Count Franz Walsegg-Stuppach to compose a requiem for his wife, who had died on 14 February 1791. According to Constanze Mozart's earliest account of the commission, published in Franz Xaver Niemetschek's 1798 biography of the composer, Mozart "told her of this remarkable request, and at the same time expressed a wish to try his hand at this type of composition, the more so as the higher forms of church music had always appealed to his genius". Early press reports describing Mozart's feverish work on the Mass and his premonitions of death are hard to reconcile with the high spirits of his letters from much of October, and there is no direct evidence from November or December 1791 to suggest the work was a burden to him. It is possible, too, that Walsegg's identity was known to Mozart: his friend Puchberg lived in Walsegg's Vienna villa, and the inclusion in



A page from Mozart's autograph of the Requiem (Introit), 1791. Original: Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna.

the score of basset horns — of which there were only a few practitioners in Vienna — suggests that Mozart could count on the participation of specific players who would have been booked far in advance for a specific date at a venue a good day's travel from Vienna — Walsegg's private chapel at Stuppach.

It is likely that Mozart did not begin serious work on the Requiem until after the premiere of *Die Zauberflöte*, and he probably took ill about 20 November (his last surviving letter, to his wife, dated 14 October, describes his attendance at a performance of *Die Zauberflöte* with his son Carl and Salieri: "Salieri listened and watched most attentively and from the overture to the last chorus, there wasn't a single number that didn't call forth from him a 'bravo'! or 'bello'!"). He was attended by two leading Viennese doctors, Closset and Sallaba, and his condition seemed to improve in early December. According to one account he was visited by friends on 4 December, with whom he sang through parts of the Requiem. That evening, however, he took a turn for the worse and Closset, summoned from the theatre, applied cold compresses which sent Mozart into shock. Apparently he never regained consciousness and died at 12.55am on 5 December. The cause of death registered with the Viennese authorities was "severe miliary fever" (so-called because it produces a rash resembling millet seeds), although it is now generally thought he died of renal failure or possibly some sort of oedema brought on by a streptococcal infection — an analysis of medical records in Vienna shows that deaths from oedema among younger men increased dramatically in November and December 1791.[28] He was buried on 7 December in a common grave (as was customary at the time) at St Marx cemetery, outside the city walls. One legend has it that the day was stormy and snowy, but contemporaneous weather reports suggest it was calm and mild.

Towards the end of the 1770s, and especially after his trip to Mannheim and Paris in 1777–78, Mozart developed — or perhaps deployed — a style that can be described as opulent: not only *Idomeneo* but other works of the time, including the Sinfonia concertante for violin and viola K364 and the "Posthorn" Serenade K320, border on the extravagant, harmonically, thematically, texturally and expressively. With his move to Vienna, however, this style gave way to one that was texturally leaner, more transparent and less ornamental; possibly this was a natural development for Mozart, or possibly it was an attempt to accommodate his changed circumstances and new audiences. It is particularly apparent in his first works published in Vienna, the Sonatas for keyboard and violin K376–380 and K296 (of which only K376, K377, K379 and K380 were composed there; K296 was written at Mannheim in 1778 and K378 at Salzburg in 1779 or 1780). The sonatas are not, however, a regression: for all their straightforwardness, they are

[28] Richard H.C. Zegers, Andreas Weigl and Andrew Steptoe, "The Death of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart: An Epidemiologic Perspective", *Annals of Internal Medicine* 151/4 (2009), 274–278.

broader in conception than his earlier sonatas, with greater forward thrust and a deeper sense of contrast as an expressive device. They also display a new relationship between the instruments, with the violin increasingly taking over essential melodic material and engaging dialogically with the keyboard.

Title-page of Mozart's six sonatas for keyboard with violin accompaniment (K376-380 and K296) published by Artaria, Vienna, in 1781.

This trend toward equality of partnership, and the importance of individual parts and lines, increasingly characterises Mozart's chamber music of the 1780s: the violin takes on an even greater role in the Sonata K454, composed for a public concert given by the Italian virtuosa Regina Strinasacchi, and in the Piano Trios K496, K502, K542 and K548. It is also characteristic of his string chamber music, the six quartets dedicated to Haydn and the String Quintets in C major and G minor K515 and K516. The quartets, composed between 1782 and 1785, though emulating Haydn's quartets op.33, do not imitate them slavishly and are characterised by textures conceived not merely in four-part harmony but as genuine four-voiced discourse, with the linking of musical ideas an integral part of the medium. Along with Haydn's quartets, later critics considered them prime examples of the genre; in 1802, the theorist Heinrich Christoph Koch described them as the finest works of their kind.

Counterpoint in particular takes on a new importance in the quartets: in the opening movements of K421 and K428, and in the slow movement of K428, each of the principal themes is subjected to imitative treatment, while the coda to the first movement of the "Hunt" Quartet K458 draws out the latent imitative potential of the main themes. The most striking example of sophisticated counterpoint in these works, and a striking example of the greater deployment of chromaticism in Mozart's music generally, is the introduction to the first movement of the "Dissonance" Quartet K465. But it is not only in the quartets

that counterpoint and chromaticism become important — increasingly it is central to almost all of Mozart's Viennese music. The finale of the Quartet K387, for example, treats counterpoint as a structural topic in its own right, differentiating between stable, thematic material (treated contrapuntally) and transitional and cadential material (treated homophonically in a melody and accompaniment *buffo* style). This procedure is reversed in the finale of the Piano Concerto K459, with *fugato* representing transition, development and instability. It is perhaps no coincidence that during his early years in Vienna Mozart gained a greater acquaintance with the music of J.S. Bach and Handel, an acquaintance facilitated by his participation in musical soirées at the home of Baron Gottfried van Swieten, where fugues by both composers were a mainstay of the repertory.

In addition to counterpoint and chromaticism, Mozart's music of the earlier 1780s shows ever greater concern for texture, including not only homophony and polyphony or melody and accompaniment, but also sound for its own sake. This is immediately apparent in his three substantial Viennese wind serenades, K361, K375 and K388, each of which, in its own way, evokes a unique sound world; the Adagio from K361 in particular occasioned a memorable description in Peter Shaffer's *Amadeus*, a description that captures the expressive qualities of Mozart's textural imagination:

> Extraordinary! On the page it looked nothing. The beginning simple, almost comic. Just a pulse — bassoons and basset horns — like a rusty squeezebox. Then suddenly — high above it — an oboe, a single note, hanging there unwavering, till a clarinet took over and sweetened it into a phrase of such delight! This was no composition by a performing monkey! This was a music I'd never heard. Filled with such longing, such unfulfillable longing, it had me trembling. It seemed to me that I was hearing a voice of God.

The piano concertos, the operas, the symphonies — all of these works similarly employ texture to various expressive ends, as does the chamber music, including the Trio K498 for the unique combination of piano, clarinet and viola, and the Quintet for piano and winds K452, a work Mozart himself described as the finest he had written.

Mozart's deliberate attention to the smallest details of texture, scoring, rhythm and articulation as elements of both affect and style is evident from the numerous erasures, changes and revisions in his autographs: the second movement of the Piano Concerto K466, for instance, was initially conceived to begin with the orchestra, as an erased *piano* in the first violin part shows, and to include trumpets and drums — but he abandoned this idea and in a possibly related correction, trumpets and drums were cancelled from the two final bars of the first movement.

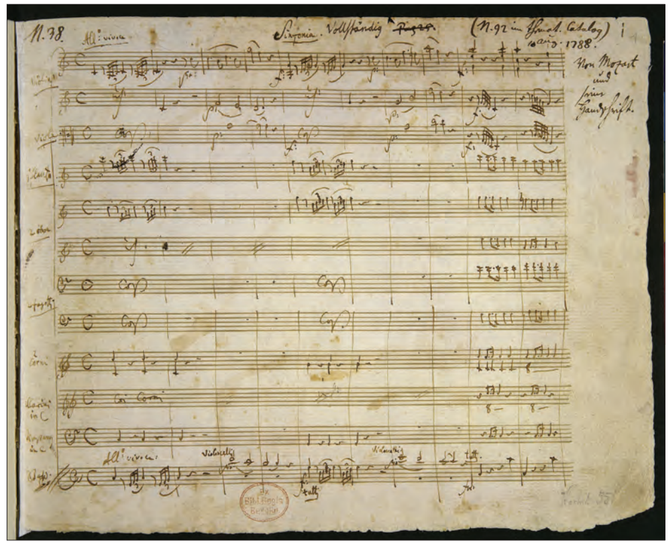
That texture was a matter of formal significance for Mozart is particularly clear in the case of the piano concertos, whether thought of as based on earlier ritornello structures inherited from the Baroque, aria forms or the sonata; to some extent these differing formulations reflect ambiguities in descriptions

of concerto form found in eighteenth-century treatises. It is more likely, however, that they are textural structures built on contrasting sonorities that reinforce moments of tonal stability: the three main tuttis establish the tonic (while at the same time presenting important thematic material and serving as a foil to the later entrance of the soloist), the arrival and consolidation of the dominant, and, at the end of the movement, the strongest possible confirmation of the home key and closure. Within this larger complex, the first movements follow a pattern consistent in its outlines, including an opening ritornello, a first solo that reiterates the main theme and modulates to the dominant via new material, a medial ritornello usually based on one of the *forte* passages of the opening ritornello, a development-like section characterised by wide-ranging modulation and virtuosic figuration, a recapitulation shared by keyboard and orchestra, a cadenza and a concluding ritornello. Perhaps the most striking feature of them is Mozart's generous orchestration. The ensemble does not merely accompany but also dialogues, sometimes corporately, sometimes individually, as both antagonist and co-protagonist, with the soloist. This trend is markedly expanded in the concertos from 1784 on: in K482, K488 and K491 the winds achieve parity with the strings as part of the ensemble.

Burgtheater (Court Theatre) at Michaelsplatz, Vienna, Austria. Reproduction of an engraving by C. Schuetz c.1785.s

While the model of the early *opera seria* aria is at least partly relevant to Mozart's concertos, it barely applies to *Die Entführung* or the three Da Ponte operas, *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte*. Different formal types come into play, including binary forms ("Traurigkeit" in *Die Entführung*), ABA forms ("Dalla sua pace" in *Don Giovanni* and "Un'aura amorosa" in *Così*), complex two-part forms ("Aprite un po'" in *Figaro* and "Vedrai, carino" in *Don Giovanni*), one-part undivided forms ("Im Mohrenland" in *Die Entführung*) and rondò ("Dove sono" in *Figaro*). In every instance, however, formal schemes are designed to express the text. The solo arias, rather than representing action, simultaneously portray a variety of

complementary or conflicting emotions, one of which usually gains the upper hand. "Non più andrai" is not so much about Cherubino's implied growth from adolescence to manhood as Figaro's overwhelming need to gloat. The ensembles represent more complex kinds of expression: the "Letter Duet" in *Figaro* is a dramatic tour de force, the music representing the dictation of a letter, with phrases realistically repeated and a condensed recapitulation serving for a reading back of the text. But it is the finales in particular that carry the action forward. Changes in tempo, metre, tonality and orchestration resolve existing tensions while creating new ones, always closely allied to the action.



Mozart, "Jupiter"
Symphony K551, first page
of the autograph score
Original: bpk /
Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin

The later Viennese symphonies, all of them composed after *Figaro*, benefited from Mozart's experience writing both operas and concertos. The "Prague" K504, while preserving much of the traditional brilliance of D major, depends more on the arrangement and development of motifs than on thematic material. The variety of topics and figures alluded to, the integration of learned and *galant* counterpoint and the rhetorical strategies of the symphony make it a "difficult" work, no less difficult than the three final symphonies, K543, K550 and K551, all of them composed in the summer of 1788. K543, like the "Prague", includes a long and at times sharply dissonant, tonally wayward introduction that with respect to timbre — it includes clarinets but not oboes — is probably unprecedented for the time, while the enharmonic writing in the A flat Andante con moto, where E flat is reinterpreted as D sharp, leading to an outburst in the distant B minor, is striking. Similar enharmonic and chromatic writing is found in the first movement of the G minor Symphony K550, where the development section of the first movement begins in F sharp

minor, and in the finale, where a four-part contrapuntal working out of the thematic material ends in the remote key of C sharp minor. The finale of the "Jupiter" K551 is possibly the best-known movement among these works, although its supposedly "fugal" writing does not strictly merit that description. Rather, it represents an example of *musica combinatoria*, for the various independent motifs heard earlier in the movement are brought together in the coda to create a *fugato* in five-part invertible counterpoint. In all of these works, as well as the "Prague", Mozart brought to the symphony orchestra a new understanding of its possibilities both as a single corporate body and as a collection of individuals. The textures and gestures range from the most grandiose and symphonic to the most intimate and chamber-music-like. The obbligato orchestra achieves its first perfection in these works.

It is commonly thought that Mozart's later music — though what constitutes "later" differs from writer to writer: some say Mozart's late style begins as early as 1787, others that it begins only in 1790 — reflects his presumed financial and psychological decline at the end of the decade; it remains masterful, but becomes cold and distanced or, in some instances like the Clarinet Quintet K581 composed in 1789 or the Clarinet Concerto of 1791, autumnal, introspective and withdrawn. Yet Mozart's biography gives no real hint of any disaffection, alienation or excessive suffering at this time. Accordingly, it may be that his late music is not, in some sense, a decline but, rather, that its difference from his earlier works represents a new aesthetic outlook on the composer's part. The features of this new style include a certain austerity, more motivic and contrapuntal development, at times less rich textures and a more economical use of thematic material, including frequent monothematicism. More important, however, is the aesthetic basis of this new style, a return to a kind of Baroque "unity of affect", in which any single movement exploits only one expressive "idea" rather than a multiplicity of them. It is this mining of a single affect, rather than any particular style feature, that distinguishes Mozart's later music.

Mozart's new outlook is most apparent in his chamber music for strings, including the three "Prussian" quartets (K575, K589 and K590) and the two string quintets, in D major (K593) and E flat major (K614). The second movement of K593, for instance, is structured around successive presentations of a specific textural conceit: the full ensemble, the division of the ensemble into groups of three (first and second violins and first viola, first and second violas and violoncello), and then a reconstitution of the whole (the first movement of the D major Quartet K575 similarly exploits texture, though not to the same extent: a recurring rising motive appears throughout, at first only in thirds, with two instruments, but later in the movement in thirds and sixths, with three instruments). And the first movement of K614 is, essentially, a contest between the first violin and the rest of the ensemble: at various points in the movement, the first violin asserts itself as a soloist, dialoguing, then duelling, with the other players, especially in the central development section; it is only at the very end of the movement that all five instrumentalists achieve some sort of *rapprochement*. The slow movement of K614 is a study in musical process and

structural gesture (as opposed to form), a unique combination, among Mozart's works, of sonata, rondo and variations. In similar fashion, the slow movement of the String Quartet K590 is also about process and structural gesture, in this instance sonata and variation.

These strategies are not entirely new with Mozart's later works: the slow movement of the String Quintet K516, like the slow movement of K593, is based on the progressive dissolution and reconstitution of the ensemble; and the first movement of the Piano Trio K502 is built around an increasingly complex dialogue between piano and violin, the cello fully participatory only after the second theme. Tension among structure, texture and genre — characteristic of the Quintet K614 — also characterises the Quintet for piano and winds K452 and the finale of the Piano Sonata K333, which includes a concerto-like cadenza. What makes their deployment different in Mozart's later music is the single-mindedness with which they articulate and project the expression of movements as a whole.

Mozart's interest in counterpoint at this time — different from his earlier interest and acquaintance in 1782 — may relate to his arrangements for Van Swieten of several Handel oratorios. It may also have been stimulated by his trip to Leipzig in 1789 where he met Bach's pupil Johann Friedrich Doles and had a copy made of Bach's motet *Singet dem Herrn*. It is only from about this time that a truly "Classical" counterpoint — that is, counterpoint allied to late-eighteenth-century musical structures, rather than more open-ended, cadence-free earlier ones — appears to have become a regular feature of Mozart's music. It can be found not only in the string quintets but also in the piano variations K613 on the comic song "Ein Weib ist das herrlichste Ding" and in the Piano Sonata K576. Most prominently of all, it occurs in the central *fugato* of the overture to *Die Zauberflöte,* in the archaic chorale of the Armed Men in the same opera's second act, and throughout the Requiem.

In the last half-year of his life, Mozart wrote — in addition to the Clarinet Concerto K622 — three significant works: the Singspiel *Die Zauberflöte*, the Requiem and the *opera seria La clemenza di Tito*. Although *Tito* was dismissed for much of the twentieth century as an opera Mozart composed hastily and with distaste, there is no reason to suppose he had reservations about composing it. Serious opera had always attracted him, and the librettos, most commonly Metastasio's, were updated to meet contemporaneous taste through the addition of ensembles and choruses. Certainly *Tito* is more austere than the Da Ponte operas, but appropriately so given the topic and the occasion for which the opera was written. And the first-act finale — with the burning of Rome — is akin to an *opera buffa* finale, but with a twist: rather than accelerating to the point of confusion, the *Tito* finale starts Allegro and ends Andante, with the principals on stage bewailing the betrayal of Titus while the groans of the populace are heard in the distance.

On first hearing, *Die Zauberflöte* and the Requiem appear to be dramatically different in conception: no work by Mozart is more heterogeneous or displays a broader range of stylistic references than the opera, while the Requiem seems to refer uniquely to its own rarefied spiritual domain. Yet both, each on its own terms, exploit contrast to an extreme. The opera's fugal overture with its three introductory chords is symbolically Masonic, while other ritual music in the piece, including Sarastro's songs, the choruses and some of the ensembles, also derive from Freemasonry. Papageno's strophic comic songs, on the other hand, are in the cheerful manner of other contemporaneous Viennese Singspiele. The songs for the serious characters, among them Tamino's lyrical "portrait aria" and the Queen of the Night's two bravura arias, are more Italianate. Pamina's haunting "Ach, ich fühl's" falls somewhere in between. Its straightforward, intimate manner may reflect her more universal, idealised character. The orator's scene in the first-act finale, however, with its extended accompanied recitative, is *sui generis*.

The Requiem, by contrast, hides its diversity. Nevertheless, the three prevailing textures — homophonic or chordal in the "Dies irae" and "Rex tremendae", contrapuntal in the Kyrie fugue and the "Recordare" and *cantabile* in the "Te decet hymnus" and "Tuba mirum" — are juxtaposed almost kaleidoscopically, often succeeding each other in response to a single phrase of text. At times the enharmonic and chromatic modulations are extreme, notably in the "Confutatis" where successive lines of text are given in A minor, A flat minor, G minor and then, via F sharp minor, F major. The make-up of the ensemble, including basset horns, bassoons, trumpets, timpani and strings (with obbligato trombone in the "Tuba mirum") but no flutes, oboes or horns, lends the work an extraordinarily beautiful, dark-hued sound. To judge by the Introit, essentially the only movement completed in its entirety by Mozart, the orchestra would have represented a character in its own right: the outburst of the trombones just before the entry of the voices, and in particular the syncopated, harmonically and texturally dissonant leaps in the first violins at "Requiem aeternam" — more or less directly contradicting the sense of the text — are chilling.

Traditional ideas about Mozart's sorry end — his supposed unpopularity and ill health, his alleged remoteness from the world around him — are convenient biographical tropes. And together with the idea of a disengaged "late style," as opposed to a vibrant, forward-looking aesthetic re-evaluation, they seem to account for the numerous slight dances and other works composed by him between 1788 and 1791 as well as the relatively slighter popularity, historically, of the "Prussian" quartets and last two quintets. They also provide a handy launching pad for asserting a phoenix-like — or Christ-like — resurrection (not dissimilar to the *Transfiguration* of Raphael, to whom Mozart was sometimes compared in the early nineteenth century) in the Requiem and *Die Zauberflöte*, a view put forward, among others, by Hermann Abert in his monumental Mozart biography of 1919: "Even as a boy he had felt powerfully drawn to mysticism, and this tendency now emerged with increasing clarity during the last five years of his life, with the idea of death and the afterlife preoccupying his thoughts to a much greater extent than before, as the once hedonistic composer became increasingly conscious of the existence of a metaphysical world

The Transfiguration by Raphael, 1516-20. Original: Pinacoteca of the Vatican Museums

whose terrors he had first felt in *Don Giovanni*, before revealing its purifying and elevating force to him in *Die Zauberflöte*, a work that proclaims this force as the highest goal of human aspirations, while the Requiem addresses it from its metaphysical aspect as a power which, remote from all temporal concerns, arouses man's feelings of guilt and need for redemption."

The immediate trigger for this view of Mozart was stories about the Requiem that began circulating within weeks of his death. As early as 27 December the Munich-published *Der Baierische Landbote* reported that, "Some months before his death he received an unsigned letter, asking him to write a Requiem and to ask for it what he wanted. Because this work did not at all appeal to him, he thought, I will ask for so much that the patron will certainly leave me alone. A servant came the next day for his answer — Mozart wrote to the unknown patron that he could not write it for less than 60 ducats and then not before 2 or 3 months. The servant returned immediately with 30 ducats and said he would ask again in 3 months and if the mass were ready he would immediately hand over the other half of the money. So Mozart had to write it, which he did, often with tears in his eyes, constantly saying: I fear that I am writing a Requiem for myself."

The grander biographical narrative that stories like these gave rise to was firmly in place — at least in its outlines — by the end of the eighteenth century. Thomas Busby wrote in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* for 1798:

> Among the illustrious individuals who by their superior abilities have ornamented and improved the world, how few have dared to defy the obstacles which envy, arrogance and contending meanness opposed to their progress! Or indignantly to break the shackles which indigence imposes, and dart through that obscurity too well calculated to scatter and quench the rays of genius! To how small a number have their own country proved [a] beneficent protectress …. This has formed the complaint of every age, and will continue to excite the murmurs of suffering merit, till minds of the superior class seize, by independancy of spirit, that ascendency in the scale of worldly power which gives weight and force to human movements, and which can only spring from conscious importance and dignified self-assertion. The shade of the great Mozart, whose sublime productions have astonished, and still continue to delight, all Europe, awakens these reflections — accompanies me in my progress — revives the complaints of neglected genius.

This was a powerful story, one that in both its details and its broad sweep appealed to a burgeoning Romantic imagination — it dovetailed neatly with contemporaneous sensibilities about art and artists and reinforced the impression that a relatively few well-known documents seem to give, not least the letter Mozart wrote to his father on 4 April 1787, when he first learned Leopold was ill — terminally as it turned out:

> I've just this minute received news that has come as a great blow — not least because I'd assumed from your last letter that, praise be to God, you were feeling well; — but now I hear that you're very ill! I don't need to tell you how much I long to receive some reassuring news from you; and I'm sure that I shall — even though I've made a habit of always imagining the worst in all things — when looked at closely, death is the true goal of our lives, and so for a number of years I've familiarised myself with this true friend of man to such an extent that his image is not only no longer a source of terror to me but is comforting and consoling! And I give thanks to my God that He has given me the good fortune of finding an opportunity — you understand what I mean — of realising that death is the *key* to our true happiness. — I never go to bed without thinking that — young as I am — I may no longer be alive the next morning — and yet no one who knows me can say that I'm sullen or sad in my dealings with them — and for this blessing I give daily thanks to my creator and with all my heart wish that all my fellow creatures may feel the same.

The essentialising nature of these anecdotes and readings runs counter to what is known of Mozart's life and works. "Ich bin ein Mensch wie du", the bird catcher Papageno in *Die Zauberflöte* says to a startled Tamino, who at first look does not know what to make of the apparently exotic creature he sees — Mozart himself might say the same to us.

By all accounts his domestic life was generally a happy one. In a letter of 15 December 1781 (by different standards a bit patronising and prosaic, but perhaps typical of the times and in the end genuinely affectionate), he says of Constanze, "Her whole beauty consists in two dark little eyes and a beautiful figure. She has no wit but enough sound common sense to be able to fulfil her duties as a wife and mother. She's not inclined to extravagance — it's completely wrong to claim otherwise. — Quite the opposite … It's true that she'd like to dress neatly and cleanly, but not nattily. — And most of the things that a woman needs she can make herself. And she also does her own hair every day. — She

understands all about housekeeping and has the kindest heart in the world — I love her, and she loves me with all her heart. — Tell me if I could wish for a better wife?"

And in August 1788, when the Danish actor Joachim Daniel Preisler visited Vienna, he wrote in his diary:

> In the afternoon Jünger, Lange and Werner came to fetch us to go to Kapellmeister Mozart's. There I had the happiest hour of music that has ever fallen to my lot. This small man and great master twice extemporised on a pedal pianoforte, so wonderfully! so wonderfully that I quite lost myself. He intertwined the most difficult passages with the most lovely themes. — His wife cut quill-pens for the copyist, a pupil composed, a little boy aged four walked about in the garden and sang recitatives — in short, everything that surrounded this splendid man was musical!

Even in the midst of exceptional musical activities — 1791, when he was engaged in the composition and performance of *La clemenza di Tito* and *Die Zauberflöte* as well as writing the Requiem, is only one example — Mozart's daily life appears on the whole to have been satisfyingly prosaic, domestic and family-oriented. On 7/8 October he wrote to Constanze, then taking the cure at Baden, "I went out by the Stubentor at half past 5 and took my favourite walk along the glacis to the theatre — what do I see? — What do I smell? — — Don Primus with the pork cutlets! — Che gusto! — I'm now eating to your health …" and "You should have seen me at supper yesterday! — I couldn't find the old tableware, so I got out a white one decorated with snowdrops — and placed the double candlestick with wax candles in front of me! … I've just eaten a delicious piece of sturgeon that my faithful valet Don Primus brought — and as I'm feeling fairly hungry today, I've sent him out for some more, if he can find it. — Meanwhile I'll continue writing to you." A few days later, on 14 October, he wrote to her:

> Yesterday, Thursday the 13th, Hofer drove out with me to see Carl,[29] we had lunch out there, then drove home, at 6 I picked up Salieri and Mme Cavalieri in my carriage and drove them to my box — I then hurried off to collect Mama and Carl … After the show [*Die Zauberflöte*] I drove them home and had supper with Carl at Hofer's. — I then drove home with him and we both had a good night's sleep. It was no small treat for Carl to be taken to the opera. — He's looking splendid — in terms of his health he couldn't be in a better place, but everything else there is unfortunately wretched! — No doubt they can turn out good peasants! — But enough of this, his serious studies — God have mercy on him! — don't start till Monday and so I've asked to keep him till after lunch on Sunday; I said you'd like to see him…

[29] Franz Hofer was Mozart's brother-in-law; Mozart's son Carl Thomas was at the time attending a boarding school in Perchtoldsdorf, just outside the Vienna city limits.

Beyond saying something about Mozart's personal life and happy domesticity, these letters also suggest that — whatever the reasons for his begging letters to Puchberg — his finances may not have been as perilous as he made out, although it remains difficult to account for them over the course of the decade: he was never forced to do without a maid or other luxuries typical of a person of his standing — including, for a while, his own horse and carriage — but his income was unstable and estimates of his earnings are at best incomplete and unreliable. Relatively few specific payments to him, or earnings from concerts and other musical activities, are known: Joseph II gave him fifty ducats for his contest with Clementi, his subscription concerts in 1784 attracted well over a hundred patrons at six gulden each, his Burgtheater concert on 10 March 1785 netted 559 gulden and his annual salary as court chamber musician, from 1788, was eight hundred gulden.[30] Teaching provided less, although Mozart enterprisingly formulated a scheme to ensure at least some regularity of payment: "I no longer charge for 12 lessons," he wrote to his father on 23 January 1782, "but monthly. I learnt to my cost that my pupils often dropped out for weeks at a time. So now, whether they learn or not, each of them must pay me 6 ducats." Publications may also have brought in substantial sums, although the 450 gulden he received from Artaria for the six quartets dedicated to Haydn was exceptional; for symphonies, sonatas, quintets and other chamber works he probably earned less. In 1791 he may have sold copies of *Die Zauberflöte* for one hundred gulden each, and for the composition of an opera he generally received 450 gulden (payments of this amount are documented for *Die Entführung*, *Figaro* and *La clemenza di Tito*). At the same time, Mozart probably had considerable day-to-day expenses. In addition to rent and food, his income had to cover substantial medical bills, child-rearing expenses and a costly wardrobe (only one of the prices he paid for maintaining his standing in Viennese society, though gladly, it seems). By all accounts he was generous with his friends, sometimes lending them money. Other expenses must be taken into account too, among them transportation, books, musical instruments, music and manuscript paper, as well as any expenses he may have incurred with local music copyists.

Mozart's estate documents are difficult to interpret. He was in debt at the time of his death but not excessively — about three hundred gulden, less than half his annual salary as court chamber musician, exclusive of his other income for composing, performing and publication. This does not take into account a judgment of more than 1400 gulden awarded by the imperial court in November 1791 to Prince Karl

[30] Eighteenth-century currency conversions are problematic at best. The principal unit of currency circulating in Habsburg lands was the florin or gulden, which was divided into sixty kreutzer; a ducat was worth about four and a half florins. Mozart's salary as imperial chamber musician was eight hundred florins and the normal fee for composing an opera for the imperial theatres was 450 florins. To put these figures in perspective, Johann Pezzl, writing in Vienna in 1786, calculated that a single person could live "quite comfortably" on five hundred or 550 gulden. It is likely that Mozart and his family could have managed reasonably well on his income if they were not extravagant and remained healthy.

Lichnowsky, who had sued Mozart for unknown reasons (details of the affair are only summarily recorded in the Viennese archives). Nevertheless, Constanze was able not only to pay off Mozart's debts, but also to collect the value of the estate. It may be that she was provided for by Mozart's friends and patrons, chief among them Van Swieten, or that her finances — and Mozart's had he lived — were secured though the sale of copies of *Die Zauberflöte* (at one hundred gulden each) and other music published that year, included the "Prussian" string quartets, which appeared only days after Mozart's death on 5 December.

Not only does Mozart's domestic life appear to have been both successful and satisfying — in addition to his family, he cultivated a wide circle of friends including the local nobility, the Viennese intelligentsia, his fellow Masons and many of the city's musicians, actors and impresarios — but his performances and compositions were also well received, and on the whole better received than the works of any other living composer except Haydn — not only in Vienna but across Europe. Some critics, many of them based in northern Germany where a different style prevailed well into the 1780s, complained that his music was too complicated or too extravagant and sometimes lacking in feeling. A review of *Die Entführung* in Adolf Knigge's *Dramaturgische Blätter* for 1788 noted that

> … strange harmonies betray the great master, but they are not suitable for the theatre. Herr Weber has frequently remarked in the theatre that, if the fourth in a minor key is unexpectedly heard with the minor third and seventh, or inverted with the augmented sixth, this harmony excited a great sensation, but failed to please most of the listeners on being often repeated, and lost all its effect. For many of the reasons just mentioned, half the beauties of the admirably worked quartet at the end of the second act, for example, go for nothing. This quartet is a veritable masterpiece for the connoisseur, but how few will feel the value of the art that went into its making! Lastly, the vocal line in this opera is too much syncopated in many places, especially in duets, quartets, &c. The singer is not given time to breathe, to give new strength to his voice, and it becomes dull and lame. One fine idea jostles the next and removes it from the listener's admiration.

Similarly, a correspondent for Carl Friedrich Cramer's *Magazin der Musik* wrote in 1787 that "He is the most skilful and best keyboard player I have ever heard; the pity is only that he aims too high in his artful and truly beautiful compositions in order to become a new creator, whereby it must be said that feeling and heart profit little; his new quartets for 2 violins, viola and bass, which he has dedicated to Haydn, may well be called too highly seasoned — and whose palate can endure this for long? Forgive this simile from the cookery book …". And the *Musikalische Real-Zeitung*, published at Speyer on 13 August 1788, said of the Sonata K481, "It were to be wished … that Herr *M.* did not allow himself to be captivated so much by the modish taste of our time …", complaining about hackneyed broken chords and structural imbalance.

But these voices were the minority. Johann Friedrich Schink, in his *Litterarische Fragmente*, wrote that Mozart is "great and original in his compositions … One swims away with him unresistingly on the stream of his emotions" while the *Wiener Zeitung*, reviewing the 1785 Advent Tonkünstler-Societät concerts, reported that "On the second day Herr Wolfgang Amade Mozart made a change with a concerto of his own composition for the pianoforte, the favourable reception of which we forbear to mention since our praise is superfluous in view of the deserved fame of this master, as well known as he is universally valued." Goethe wrote that "All our endeavour …to confine ourselves to what is simple and limited was lost when Mozart appeared. *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* conquered all…" and Christian Friedrich Daniel Schubart described Mozart as "a star of the first magnitude in the present musical firmament". A reviewer of *Don Giovanni* in Hamburg in 1789 says that "*Mozart* is no ordinary composer. He is not content with light, pleasing melodies written down at random. His music is carefully planned, profoundly felt…" and when *Figaro* was produced in Hanover in 1789, Adolf Knigge's *Dramaturgische Blätter* noted that,

> It is what was to be expected of Mozart: great and beautiful, full of new ideas and unexpected turns, full of art, fire and genius. Now we are enchanted by beautiful, charming song; now we are made to smile at subtle, comic wit and fancy; now we admire the naturally conceived and superbly executed planning; now the magnificence and greatness of Art takes us by surprise. Where all this is united, it is bound to make its effect and to satisfy the sensitive hearer as well as the experienced and practised expert. Mozart is gifted with the happy genius that can blend art with nature and song with grace. Again he ventures on impetuous and fiery sallies, and how bold are his harmonies! In this opera, too, he shows that he possesses a true talent for the comic–dramatic style, just as his pianoforte things, because they suit the instrument, are acknowledged and admired as masterpieces by the German public and by foreign nations.

The narrative arc of Mozart's life, then, was not one of childhood brilliance, servitude, an assertion of independence, short-lived acclaim and terminal decline. He was not a victim of his father, an unappreciative archbishop or a fickle Viennese public. He was not unhappy in his domestic life, disengaged from the world around him or in chronic financial crisis. In many respects his was a life like many other exemplary lives, in the end and on the whole a successful negotiation — both professionally and personally — of the complex eighteenth-century world. What is unique and different is his music. Within days of his death on 5 December 1791, obituaries appeared in newspapers across Europe, something that had not been the case with any previous composer. "Mozart … is no more" wrote the *Auszug aller europäischen Zeitungen*, "Mozart … whose name will always be celebrated by music lovers" reported the *Freytägige Frankfurter kaiserliche Reichs-Ober-Post-Amts-Zeitung*, "Mozart … [who] was considered as the greatest genius, as a Composer, that we ever possessed …" said the *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser,* and — in the *Musikalische Korrespondenz der teutschen filharmonischen Gesellschaft* — "All Vienna, and with the imperial capital the whole musical world, mourns the early loss of this immortal man."

Biographies

COLLOREDO, HIERONYMUS JOSEPH FRANZ DE PAULA VON (1732–1812), Prince-archbishop of Salzburg from 1772 to 1803. Educated in Vienna and Rome, Colloredo became a canon of Salzburg cathedral in 1747; his election as prince-archbishop on 14 March 1772 was bitterly controversial. Although he was a reformer who, at Salzburg, created an intellectual environment attractive to artists and thinkers alike, both Mozarts were unhappy in his service, complaining that travel leave was difficult to obtain, that extra presents of money for compositions were stingy and that Italian musicians were promoted over Germans. Colloredo is generally condemned for his insensitive and mean-spirited attitude towards the Mozarts, but there is blame to be apportioned on both sides. His father, Rudolf Wenzel Joseph, Count Colloredo-Melz and Wallsee (1706–88) was imperial deputy chancellor in Vienna and met the Mozarts there in 1762; his sister, Maria Franziska, Countess Wallis (1746–95), was the most influential woman at the Salzburg court.

DA PONTE, LORENZO (1749–1838), Italian librettist and Mozart's collaborator on *Le nozze di Figaro* (1785), *Don Giovanni* (1786), and *Così fan tutte* (1790). Exiled from Venice (where he had been a friend of Casanova), Da Ponte worked briefly in Dresden before moving to Vienna in late 1781, where he attracted the favour of Emperor Joseph II. He was appointed court poet in 1783, when Joseph II abandoned his attempts to promote German spoken and musical theatre and revived the Italian company at the Burgtheater; his subsequent involvement in the flowering of *opera buffa* in Vienna between 1783 and 1790 made him the most significant librettist of his generation. Mozart was suspicious of his arrogance and penchant for intrigue, while Da Ponte was ambivalent about Mozart in his memoirs, recognising his genius but doubting his stage skills.

GRIMM, FRIEDRICH MELCHIOR, BARON VON (1723–1807), author and diplomat. Grimm was born in Regensburg, Bavaria, and educated in Leipzig. He settled in Paris in 1749, where he became part of the circle around the *Encyclopédistes* and was, for a time, secretary to the Duc d'Orléans. In 1757 he began to write a weekly newsletter on cultural affairs that circulated throughout Europe in handwritten copies; they were later published as *Correspondance littéraire* (1812). Grimm was the Mozarts' chief patron during their first visit to Paris in 1763–64, arranging for Wolfgang and Nannerl to appear at Versailles, as well as two public concerts in March and April 1764. Grimm again helped Mozart and his mother in Paris in 1778, but after Maria Anna Mozart's death, relations between Grimm and Mozart became strained.

HAGENAUER FAMILY The spice and grocery merchant (Johann) Lorenz Hagenauer (1712–92), based in the Getreidegasse, was Leopold Mozart's closest friend in Salzburg. The Mozarts rented an apartment from Hagenauer from 1747 to 1773, and the eleven Hagenauer children grew up with Mozart and his sister Nannerl. Lorenz and other members of the extended Hagenauer family, as well as his business associates, provided loans and put their mercantile credit network at Leopold's disposal during the family's European travels. Their fifth child, Cajetan Rupert (1746–1811), became a Benedictine monk at St Peter's abbey, Salzburg, taking the name Dominicus; Mozart wrote the "Dominicus" Mass K66 to mark the celebration of his first Mass on 15 October 1769.

JOSEPH II, EMPEROR (1741–90). The eldest son of Emperor Francis I and Empress Maria Theresia, Joseph II succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor in 1765 and was co-regent of Austria until his mother's death in 1780. He was married twice: first, happily, to Isabella of Parma (1760–63), and then, miserably, to Josepha of Bavaria (1765–67). An "enlightened despot", his policies included religious toleration, the suppression of the monasteries and repossession of church property, and the liberalisation of censorship. His musical knowledge was considerable, and his preferences for German opera, *opera buffa*, wind music and short and simple church music, together with his dislike of court entertainments, *opera seria* and ballets, set the pattern of Viennese music of the 1780s. He advanced Mozart's career in Vienna by encouraging him to compose *Le nozze di Figaro*, *Don Giovanni* and *Così fan tutte* and created a post for him in 1787 with limited duties and at a salary that many musicians would have considered generous.

LANGE, (MARIA) ALOYSIA (née Weber, *c.*1761–1839). Mozart first met and fell in love with Aloysia during his stay in Mannheim in 1777. He gave her musical instruction and composed the concert arias K294, K316 and probably an early version of K538 for her; their relationship was a cause of anxiety for Leopold. Shortly after making her Mannheim debut in Schweitzer's *Alceste*, she was engaged at the Nationaltheater in Vienna and married the singer Joseph Lange. From 1782 she was a leading singer of the Italian troupe, but seems to have fallen out of favour and in 1785 was transferred to the less prestigious Kärntnertortheater where, among other roles, she sang Konstanze in *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. Mozart married her sister Constanze in 1782.

MOZART, (MARIA) CONSTANZE (née Weber, 1762–1842). Mozart first met Constanze during his visit to Mannheim in 1777–78, at which time he was infatuated with her older sister, Aloysia Lange. Their relationship blossomed only in 1781, by which time both Mozart and the Webers were living in Vienna. Wolfgang and Constanze married on 4 August 1782. Only two of their six children survived: Carl Thomas (1784–1858) and Franz Xaver (1791–1844). Following Mozart's death, Constanze was granted an annual pension of 266 gulden by Emperor Francis II. In 1809 she married a Danish diplomat,

Georg Nikolaus Nissen, and lived in Copenhagen from 1810 to 1821; after his retirement they settled in Salzburg, where Nissen began collecting materials for a biography of Mozart. Constanze completed the work after his death in 1826; it was published in 1828.

MOZART, (JOHANN GEORG) LEOPOLD (1719–87), Mozart's father. The son of an Augsburg bookbinder, as a schoolboy Leopold Mozart was a frequent performer in local theatrical productions, and was also an accomplished organist and violinist. In 1737, after his father's death, Leopold left Augsburg to study philosophy and jurisprudence at the Salzburg Benedictine University, but was expelled in September 1739 for poor attendance and a failure to show proper deference to his professors and the university establishment. He served as valet and musician to Johann Baptist, Count of Thurn-Valsassina and Taxis, a canon of Salzburg cathedral and president of the consistory, before being appointed fourth violinist in the court orchestra of Archbishop Leopold Anton von Firmian in 1743; in addition to his court duties he taught violin, and later keyboard, to the choirboys of the cathedral oratory. By 1758 he had advanced to the post of second violinist and in 1763 to deputy Kapellmeister. Leopold was a prolific composer of Masses, litanies, smaller church works, cantatas, oratorios, symphonies, concertos, dances, divertimentos and other chamber music, and references in the family letters show that he considered himself a "modern" composer. His output decreased dramatically as he became increasingly occupied with his children's musical and general education and the family's many tours. He married Maria Anna Pertl (1720–78), the daughter of a civic official at St Gilgen, a small town near Salzburg, on 21 November 1747. They had seven children, of whom only two, Wolfgang and his sister Nannerl, survived infancy.

MOZART, MARIA ANNA (NANNERL) (1751–1829). Mozart's older sister. Although a promising keyboard player, she was overshadowed — even on the family's early tours — by her brother. Surviving exercises and references in the letters show that Nannerl could compose a bass to a melody, accompany at sight and improvise; she also learned to sing and teach, but she never earned a living from music. Mozart and Nannerl remained close until he moved to Vienna: in Salzburg they frequently played duets and performed at private concerts. Her hopes that Wolfgang would make it possible for her to leave Salzburg dwindled after his marriage in 1782, and she married Johann Baptist Berchtold von Sonnenburg (1736–1801), a magistrate of St Gilgen, on 23 August 1784. He was twice widowed and already had five children; Nannerl bore him three more.

SCHRATTENBACH, SIEGMUND CHRISTOPH VON (1698–1771), Prince-archbishop of Salzburg, 1753–1771. A great supporter of the Mozarts, Schrattenbach rewarded them with presents for compositions and partly subsidised their early tours; in 1763 he appointed Leopold Mozart deputy Kapellmeister, and in November 1769 he gave Mozart his first (unpaid) position at court, as third violinist. Schrattenbach is sometimes called Salzburg's "pious" archbishop: he is reported to have attended up to

five church services daily, and he kept all the traditional church feast days. He was no intellectual and was said to be not only bigoted, but also incapable of recognising true virtue. Although there was a small nucleus of would-be reformers in Salzburg during his reign, the Enlightenment did not systematically penetrate institutions there until after his death.

SWIETEN, GOTTFRIED (BERNHARD), BARON VAN (1733–1803). A former diplomat and occasional composer, Van Swieten was from 1777 director of the court library and president of the education and censorship commission in Vienna. He was an ardent supporter of Mozart and his music, subscribing to his Trattnerhof concerts (1784) and to a series that never materialised in 1789; in the later 1780s he commissioned from him arrangements of some of Handel's works. After Mozart's death, Van Swieten organised a Viennese benefit concert for Constanze and contributed to Carl Thomas Mozart's education in Prague.

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